

A
NARRATIVE OF THE
TRANSACTIONS IN BENGAL.

DURING THE
SOOBABHDARIES.

OF

AZEEM-US-SHAN, JAFEAR KHAN, SHUJA KHAN,

SIRAFRAZ KHAN AND ALYVARDY KHAN

TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL PERSIAN.

BY

FRANCIS GLADWIN, ESQ.

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PREFACE.

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A comprehensive history of Bengal has yet to be written. And what has already been done is to what remains to be ~~done~~ as the scratching of sparrows' feet to deep ploughing. But it is time a complete history of Bengal should issue from some intellectual hive in Europe or India. Such a work would require (besides personal qualifications in the writer) time, and a good library. And it can no longer be said that materials are wanting—that missing links have to be supplied by the ingenious imagination of the writer. We have materials—galore. Only workers are wanted to utilize them.

Stewart's history—of which a reprint was issued by us a few years back—is rich in ore. But Stewart was pioneer, and, consequently, had to labour under diverse difficulties. The searchlight of research has not in vain been penetrating the dim recesses of the distant past since Stewart's time; and scholars have not been slow to collect, hoard and economize facts and incidents. And now a careful writer can—by applying to the modern methods of analysis and synthesis—write out an accurate account of the transactions in Bengal. Moreover it is no longer necessary for the writer to sacrifice truth to trope or accuracy to advocacy.

Of Bengal under the Mahomedans we have full, free, and fair accounts. And it is one of these that we are now offering to the public. The Sair Mutakherin

Juggut Roy, the son of Kishen Ram, fled* alone to Jehangeernagar at that time the seat of government.

Nourullah Khan, the Foujdar of Jessore, Hugli, Burdwan, Midnapur and Hijeely, a Munsubdar of three thousand, and who was a merchant of large property, marched from Jessore to oppose the rebels. But, intimidated by the accounts which he received of their strength, dared not proceed beyond Hoogly; where shutting himself up in the fort, he applied to the Dutch of Chinsurah for succour.

The rebels encouraged by his pusillanimity and excited by his wealth, blockaded the fort and reduced the besieged to such straits that Nourullah was glad to depart with a few of his dependants† leaving all his riches behind him. The fort of Hoogly falling thus into the hands of the rebels, the inhabitants of that district were seized with terror and dismay. The principal people and merchants, with their families, took refuge in Chinsurah.

The Dutch, having embarked some European soldiers on two of their ships, anchored close under the walls of the fort of Hoogly; and, after battering

* Compare the story of the *Kshitisha Pargshubali Chaitany* where Jagat Roy is said to have fled in female attire and taken shelter first in Krishnagar—(Ed.) Jahangirnagar—Dacca.

† Nurnagar in Jessore is said to have been founded by this Nur-ullah, who was a foster-brother to Aurangzeb. In 1798 two octogenarians, Hidyatullah and Rahamatullah, great grandsons of Nur-ullah, prayed for a pension to Government (Wentland's *Jessore*)—(Ed.)

the walls with their cannon, and killing a considerable number of the rebels, made themselves masters of the place. Sowbha Singh, finding himself unable to face the Dutch fled to Satgong; from whence he retreated to Burdwan; and, giving the command of the army to Raheem Khan, sent him, by the way of Nuddea, to Mukhsoodabad.

The daughter of the deceased Kishenram, zemindar of Burdwan, a very beautiful young woman, had been taken prisoner at the plundering of that place. Sowbha Singh paid his addresses to her; but she received his proposal with horror and contempt. Finding all his solicitations in vain, he resolved to use force, and for that purpose got clandestinely into her apartment at night. Upon his attempting to ravish her, the heroine drew from under her garment a knife, which she had concealed, in hopes of finding an opportunity to gratify her revenge. With this weapon she ripped up his belly, and then destroyed herself.

Sowbha Singh was succeeded by his brother Himmot Singh, a monster who resembled him in all his vices, and continued the depredations upon the royal dominions.

Raheem Khan arrogantly assumed the title of Shah, and the number of his adherents, consisting of vagabonds and desperate adventurers, increasing daily, enabled him to extend his conquests, till he had subdued all the western side of the river Ganges, which is nearly half of the Soobah of Bengal.

In the suburbs of Muksoodabad dwelt Niam Khan, with his nephew Tehhewer Khan, and son others attached to the royal interest. They refused to join Raheem Khan, upon which he ordered one of his dependents to bring him the head of Niam Khan, who no sooner received intelligence of the sentence than he went to the bath, and prepared himself for death. His nephew Tehhewer Khan, a young man eminent for his military prowess, mounted his horse and heading a few troops, at the first attack put the enemy to flight with great slaughter. But he was soon surrounded by the whole army, and, together with his party, cut to pieces.

Niamut Khan, on receiving news of the death of his nephew, did not wait to put on armour, but taking his sword, mounted his horse in the same dress in which he had come from the bath.

Unsupported, he pushed through the outposts, and coming up to Raheem Khan, who was also on horseback, made a stroke at his head, but Niamut Khan's sword was broken in two by the resistance of the helmet. Not in the least dismayed at the accident, he flung the hilt at his adversary; and seizing him by the waist pulled him from his horse; then jumped upon his breast, and drawing out of the scabbard Raheem's own knife, which he wore in his girdle, attempted to cut off his head, but found it impracticable on account of the gorget.

Raheem Khan was instantly rescued by his people; and Niamut Khan, covered with wounds, was carried to the tent of his adversary. He

Prince Azeem us Shan* was nominated Soobahdar of Bengal and Bahar; and immediately began his march at the head of twelve thousand cavalry.

Zubberdust Khan lost no time, but embarked at Jéhangéernagar on the Nowareh,† with the royal train of artillery, and his choicest troops.

Raheem Khan having received early advice of the motions of Zubbêrdust Khan, encamped a large army on the banks of the Ganges, to dispute his landing. But the wind being strong and favourable, carried Zubberdust Khan a great way beyond the encampment; and having landed without opposition, he threw up intrenchments.

The next day he marched out of his intrenchments, and Raheem Khan was eager to meet him. A brisk cannonade commenced on both sides, which brought on a close engagement, when Raheem Khan's troops took to flight, and were pursued by Zubberdust Khan till the approach of night. The action was renewed the next morning, and Zubberdust Khan obtained a complete victory. Raheem Khan fled to Mukhsoodabad, and the plunder of his camp afforded considerable booty to the enemy.

Zubberdust Khan, in order to recover his men from their fatigue, halted three days during which time he sent orders to all the Zemindars to secure the presses, and cut off the enemy's supplies. The most valuable part of the booty, together with his sick and

* Aurangzêeb's grandson (Son of Dshadur Shah)

† Fleet of fighting boats.

wounded men, he transported to Jehangeernagar by water.

Raheem Khan retreated to Mukhsoodabad, to rally his scattered troops. He distributed considerable largesses amongst them, and furnished horses, arms, and accoutrements to those who had lost them in the late engagement. By these means in three days, he had considerably recruited his army.

The fourth day after the battle near the intrenchment, Zubberdust Khan commenced his march to Mukhsoodabad, being previously joined by all the principal Zemindars and Tannahdars.*

He pitched his encampment to the eastward of the city. The same day Raheem Khan retreated to Burdwan; and the next morning Zubberdust Khan set off in pursuit of him.

At this juncture the Prince Azeem-us-Shan arrived at Bahar from the Dekhan. He had come last from Delhi, by the way of Oudh and Allahabad, attended by his sons Sultan Kerreemeddeen, and Sultan Ferukhseer. The Zemindars and Aumil† of Bahar were assembled at his summons, and he was employed in making the necessary arrangements with them, when he received repeated intelligence of the victories gained by Zubberdust Khan. His rapid successes excited the jealousy of Azeem-us-Shan, who was apprehensive that the Emperor would blame his

* Stationary guards. Tannahdars were commanders of small outlying forts.—(Ed).

† Collectors of revenues.

inactivity, and transfer the soobahdary from him to that nobleman. At all events, he thought it incumbent on him to commence his military operations.

Accordingly he proceeded, by hasty marches from Bahar to Akbernagar,* from whence he sent off a detachment to Burdwan, totally regardless of the attention due to the important services of Zubberdust Khan, whom he now considered as his declared rival. That gallant commander, disgusted at this ungenerous treatment, resolved to repair immediately to the Dekhan, and lay his grievances before the Emperor; who, he assured himself, would afford him ample redress. On his march to the Dekhan he passed by the Prince's encampment at Akbarnagar, with flying colors, and beating the Nekareh which is not allowable for an inferior† to do in the presence of his superior. Neither the Prince, nor his officers, had the boldness to shew any resentment for this act of defiance and contempt.

Raheem Khan no sooner heard of the departure of Zubberdust Khan, than he left the jungles, whither he and his party had fled through fear of that able commander; and appearing again in the provinces of Burdwan, Hoogly and Nuddea, marked his way with rapine and desolation.

When Azeem-us-Shan received intelligence that Zubberdust Khan had got through the passes of

* Commonly called Rajmahal.

† A small drum allowed only to persons of high rank by a grant from the Emperor.

Sankareegully and Telliaguriy into Bahar, he thought himself perfectly secure; and issued his orders to the Zemindars of Bengal, assuring them of his protection, and inviting them to 'unite under his standard. He proceeded by slow marches to Mukhsoodabad, and was met on the road by the Zemindars and Aumils, with their Nuzzers and Peishkush,* whom he received with great affability, and conferred honors upon them suitable to their respective ranks.

Raheem Khan, who at first would give no credit to the reports of Azeem-us-Shan's motions; when he approached with his army, put himself in readiness to encounter him, confident of success from the contempt in which he held him. The Nazim continued slow in his marches, till he arrived close to the town of Burdwan, where he pitched his encampment. From thence he wrote to Raheem Khan, not only offering a free pardon, but promising him a reward, if he would peaceably lay down his arms. The rebel, in order to deceive the Nazim, shewed outward signs of contrition, whilst he was secretly making every preparations for continuing the war.

Khojeh Anwer, the elder brother of Khojeh Assim, was the confidential friend of Azeem-us-Shan, a man of abilities, by whose advice he was entirely governed. Raheem Khan wrote to Azeem-us-Shan, that if he would depute this nobleman, to confirm by

an oath the assurances lately given him, he would return with him to the Nazim's camp.* Azeem-us-Shan, deceived by this proposal, sent Khojeh Anwer to him the next morning, with full powers to conclude the treaty. Anwer set out with only a few attendants, and when he came in front of Raheem's tent, invited him to a conference. Some messages passed, to settle the forms of the interview, but at length Raheem Rhan threw off the mask, and sallying out with a strong party, attacked Khojeh Anwer, who, after a brave resistance, was slain. Having by this means got rid of Azeem-us-Shan's best General, he was freed from all apprehensions of opposition, and without delay made preparation to attack the Nazim's camp. The Prince was greatly afflicted for the loss of Khojeh Anwer, and mounting an elephant, drew up his army in battle array.

Raheem Khan, at the head of a body of Afghans, clad in armour, penetrated to the centre of the Nazim's army, calling out aloud, "where is Azeem-us-Shan?" As soon as they came up to the elephant on which the prince was mounted, his bodyguard fled without making any resistance. At this critical juncture, Humeed Khan Korishy, one of the prince's most faithful adherents, although at some distance, saw what had happened, and galloping his horse towards Raheem Khan, called out, "Thou vile wretch, I am Azeem-us-Shan; face me if thou darest."

* Apropos of this negotiation, see Stewart's quotation from Governor Eyre's letter dated January 6, 1803, Stewart—p. 371, *Donnybrook Series*—(Ed.)

Then just as Raheem Khan was turned in attempting to cut away the elephant's chain, Hummeed drew his bow, and with an arrow pierced his body, notwithstanding his armour; and another arrow wounding his horse, he fell from his saddle, when Hummeed jumped upon him, cut off his head, and placed it upon a spear.

The death of Raheem Khan gave the victory to Azeem-us-Shan; and he thus gained a considerable booty.

From the field of battle, the prince went to the tomb of Shah Behram Sucka at Burdwan,* and after paying his vows and making offerings, proceeded in triumph to the fort.

The rebels, being now without a leader, dispersed, and the province of Burdwan was once more restored to peace.

Azeem-us-Shan immediately wrote the Emperor an account of his victory; and took the most effectual means to recover the provinces from the decline into which they had lately fallen.

Juggut Roy, who had fled to Jehungeernagar upon his father being killed by Raheem Khan, now waited on Azeem-us-Shan, and was invested with the

* Ibrahim Sucka—(Stewart)—was originally a water carrier; but having associated with the Sooties, he became a celebrated author of poems and religious works. After his death he was canonized, and his tomb is still resorted to by pilgrims.—(Stewart p. 389) This tomb has recently been repaired by the Govt. Arch. Dept.; the inscription bears the date of the poet's death 1574.—(Ed.)

directed that Mahomedans should pay two and a half per cent. and the Hindoos and Europeans five per cent.

Azeemgunge in Hooghly was now established, and named after the Nazim; who also restored to a flourishing condition, many places that had been deserted during the troubles.

Being very desirous of obtaining the empire, he paid great court to Derveishes, and other religious men, to engage their prayers in his favour; and whenever he heard of any remarkable for piety and austerity of manners, he hastened to pay them his respects, and took particular delight in their company. Soofy Baizeed of Burdwan was at that time particularly famous for his sanctity. To him Azeem-us-Shan sent his sons Sultan Kurreemeddeen, and Sultan Ferukhseer, with orders to bring him to court. When they arrived at the habitation of the Soofy, he arose to meet them, and gave them his benediction. Sultan Kurreemeddeen, proud of his exalted birth, paid so little attention to the Soofy, as not to descend from his horse. But Ferukhseer ran to meet him, with every demonstration of respect and veneration. The Soofy took Ferukhseer by the hand and placing him in his Palkee said, "you are a king; seat yourself; and may the Almighty prove favourable to your wishes." The Soofy and Ferukhseer repaired to the court of Azeem-us-Shan in the *Palkee*.

The Nazim came out to meet the Soofy and

* *Alias* Shahgunj (*Rio*), between Hugli town and Bansberia.—(*Rio*—note.)

conducted him to his private apartments. Here he asked his blessing and entreated him to implore the Almighty to bestow upon him the kingdom at the death of the present Emperor. The Soofy replied, "that which you require, I have already bestowed upon Ferukhseer; my prayer, like the arrow which has left the bow cannot be recalled." Azeem-us-Shan was greatly afflicted at this declaration, but feeling it would be vain to press the Soofy to recall his blessing, dismissed him with great honors. Shortly after this, Azeem-us-Shan paid his court to Abdal Cader of Rojgong, and implored his blessing.

Having settled the provinces of Hooghly, Hijilce, Midnapoor, and Burdwan, he made preparations for his journey to Jehabgeetnagur.* For this purpose he sent thither for the nawarah or royal fleet, which had been constructed by order of Shah Shuja, to act against the pirates of Chittazone; and, when it arrived, embarked and set sail for Jehabgeetnagur. After his arrival there he was at great pains in clearing the country, and levelling the ground in and about the city.

In former reigns the climate of Bengal, on account of the badness of the air and of the water, was deemed inimical to the constitutions of Moghuls and other foreigners, and only those officers who laboured under the royal displeasure were stationed here; so that this terrible land, which enjoys a perpetual spring, was considered a stony prison, the land of execution, the seat of disaster, and

the mansion of death. The Ministers of State and the Dewans appropriated the greatest part of these valuable lands, to tunkhas for the jageers of the Munsebdars, so that the amount collected in the Khalsah or exchequer was so inconsiderable, as to be inadequate to the demands of the Nizamut troops; which deficiency was supplied from the treasury of Dehly, and by tunkhas on other soobahs.

The Emperor was highly displeased at many parts of Azeem-us-Shan's conduct. He particularly reprobated his monopoly of several articles of trade; and highly censured his compliance with many Hindu ceremonies, such as playing at Hooghly, and putting on yellow and crimson habits during their feasts of Bessunt, or the spring. When by means of the royal intelligencers these proceedings of the Nazim were made known to the Emperor, he fell into a violent passion, and with his own hand wrote the following lines to Azeem-us-Shan: "To wear a yellow turban, and a crimson robe-at the age of forty-six, is making a blessed use of your beard." The Emperor, in further declaration of his displeasure, struck off five hundred horses from Azeem-us-Shan's Munseb.

Mirza Mohammed Hadi, a man of consummate abilities, who had been employed by the Emperor in the Dekhan in several offices of trust, and who had shewn such a rigid regard for justice as to put his

own son to death for an offence against the law, had lately been appointed to the office of Dewan of Orissa. Him his Majesty now promoted to the Dewany of Bengal, with the title of Karamat Khan.

The office of the Dewany was distinct from the Nizamut: the former had the entire management of the royal revenues, and the latter was commander of the army and judge in criminal matters: but had no further interference with the country than to collect the jagier Mushtoot of the Nizamut, the Mansabdar and to distribute the royal donations. The Nazeem and Peshwa of every seckh were ordered to pay implicit obedience to the Feroode-ul-Aquil, or general regulations issued annually by the Emperor.

complain, knowing how much the Emperor was inclined to favour the Dewan, who took particular care to treat the Nazim with the utmost respect, pleading in excuse for his behaviour, the positive orders of the Emperor.

The prudent management of the new Dewan, soon raised Bengal to the highest degree of prosperity. Particularly careful in the choice of his officers, he through their means obtained such complete information of the actual capacity of the lands, and of the amount of customs and duties, that he was soon enabled to transmit the Emperor an exact statement thereof. He represented the advantages that would occur to the crown, by transferring the Jageers of the Munsebdars from this Soobah to Orissa, where the land were of less value, and the collections made with greater expense and difficulty. The Emperor having approved of this proposal the Dewan immediately resumed all the Jageers in Bengal, excepting what were properly annexed to the Nizamut and the Dewany; and in lieu thereof gave assignments upon Orissa, the cultivation of which province had of late been very much neglected. The Dewan took the collections entirely into his own hands, and by preventing the embezzlements of the Zemindars and Jageerdars, annually augmented the revenue. The whole of his conduct was highly approved by the Emperor.

Azeem us Shan viewed with jealousy the conduct of Kartuleb Khan, but the dread of the Emperor's displeasure made him disguise his senti-

ments. He therefore sought to destroy him by some means in which he should not appear to act. For this purpose he engaged one Abdul Wahid a Rissalshahdar to make his troop mutiny, on pretence of their pay being withheld from them, and in tumult to kill the Dewan. The Rissalshahdar readily embraced the proposal, and only waited for a fit opportunity to carry it into execution.

death." Azeem-us-Shan, confounded by his boldness and terrified at the apprehension of the Emperor's resentment, should he suffer the assassination to be perpetrated, thought it most prudent to dissemble; and, after dismissing Abdul Wahid and his troop, with threats of punishment for their audacious mutiny, he protested to Kartuleb Khan, that he was entirely ignorant of the matter; and gave him the strongest assurances of inviolable friendship.

The Dewan immediately repaired to the dewan-*am** and summoning together the public officers, ordered that the conduct of the mutineers should be entered on the public records; and then, giving tankhas upon Zemindars, for the arrears of their pay, he struck out their names from the rolls of the army.

The Dewan did not fail to send a minute account of these proceedings to the Emperor, of whose approbation he assured himself. But, apprehensive that the Prince might make further attempts against his life, he resolved to remove from Jehangeernagur. On this occasion he held a consultation with the *Cañoongoes*† and Zemindars, to determine upon the most convenient place for the transaction of public business. After some days' deliberation, they fixed

* *Dewan-i-Am* = the public hall.

† *Quanoon-go.* An officer of Government whose duty it is to see that all customs and regulations (about land) are duly observed; and to attest the Zemindar's accounts. For a detailed account, see Appendix I.—(Ed.)

upon Mukhsoodabad, in the pergunnah of Chunarhilly, as the most central situation to the following places. On the north and west quarters it has Akbernagur, and the passes of Sankreegully and Telliagury, the gates of Bengal;—on the south and west are Birbhoon, Pacheet, and Bishenpoor, with the jungles and mountains of Jhaikhund, the entrance from the Dekhan and Hindustan;—on the south and east lie Burdwan and the road to Orrissa, Hooghly, Hijlee, and the ports frequented by the ships of Europeans, and other foreign merchants, together with Jessore and Bhoosnah; on the north, and east, Jehangeernagur, the capital of the Soobah, with the frontier garrisons of Islamabad, Sylhet, Rangamatty, Gorahghaut, Rungpoor and Coatch Bahar.

Kartuleb Khan, without asking permission from the Prince, removed to Mukhsoodabad, with the zemindary aumleh, the canoongoes, and other Dewany officers of the khalseh. In Koolherriah,* which was then a desolate spot, he built a palace, and the khalseh cutcherry,† for the transaction of all matters relative to the revenues.

His Majesty was at this time in the Dekhan; and when he received from the vakiahnaveest‡ the particulars of the mutiny in Bengal, added to Kartuleb Khan's representation of the Prince's conduct

* The name Mouza Kuluria still stands in the Zemindary accounts of Murshedabad—(Ed.)

† See Appendix. I.

‡ *Ibid.*

in the business, he wrote a very angry letter to the latter and ordered him to retire to Bahar.

The Prince left his son Furekhseer to act as Naib Soobahdar at Jahangeenagar, with the assistance of Surbullend Khan; and himself, accompanied by Sultan Kureemeddeen, his women and half his troops, marched to Mongheer. Here, he found in decay a magnificent palace of marble and black stone, which was built by Shah Shuja, but as the expense of putting it in repair would have been considerable, and not hoping for any indulgence from the Emperor, he resolved to fix his residence at Patna, on the banks of the Ganges, where he built a fort and surrounded with a wall a city, to which he gave the name of Azeemabad.

At the end of the year, Kartuleb Khan, designing to pay his respects to the Emperor, drew out his accounts of the receipts and disbursements of the Soobah, with an estimate of contingencies. Having completed these statements, he sent them to one of the sudder Canoongoes,* Derpnarain, for his signature. This Canoongoe refused to sign the papers, unless the Dewan could account with him for three lacks of rupees which he demanded as being due to him for his *russoom*, or commission. The Dewan was willing to promise him one lack, to be paid on his return from visiting his Majesty. Derpnarain peremptorily rejected this offer of composition; but Joynarain, the other sudder Canoongoe, signed the accounts without any stipulations; when the

* *Sadar Quanungo* See, Appendix I.

dewan, regardless of Derpnarain's obstinate refusal, and Azeem-us-Shan's displeasure, set out for the Dekhan, with a considerable peishkush. He, however, presented to his Majesty in bills of exchange, the amount of the increase of the revenues, and savings out of the jageers. At the same time he delivered in his accounts of the revenues; which exhibited further proofs of his abilities and integrity.

THE SOOBABDARY. OF **MOORSHED KULY KHAN.**

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THE Emperor was so highly satisfied with the conduct of Kartuleb Khan, that he united in his person the offices of Dewan, and Soobahdar of Bengal and Orissa; and conferred on him the title of Moorshed Kuly Khan, with an augmentation of his munseeb.

When he returned to his soobahdary, he appointed Syed Ekram Khan, his Naib Dewan in Bengal and Shūjeddeen Mohammed Khan, his son-in-law, his Naib* Dēwan in Orissa.

He brought along with him from court Bhooput Roy and Keison Roy from Allahabad; the former of whom he constituted his own dewant†, and the latter his moonshi.‡

When Moorshed Kuly Khan returned to Bengal, he called his new city Moorshedabad, where he established a mint; and on the money coined there

* Naib—Deputy.

† The officer who keeps the accounts of great men,

‡ Secretary.

preserved an entire independence. They refused all obedience to the Court of Dehly, used the imperial chetr, and coined money in their own names.

In the Tarikh Assam is the following description of that country. The inhabitants consist of two tribes, the one called Meytch and the other Coatch, to the first of which the royal family belong. They have a tradition, that one of their ancient Rajahs ascended into heaven by a golden ladder, on which account the Rajahs, his descendants, never touch the ground with their feet; dwelling always upon a terrace, or platform. All business of the state is transacted by the bhooksas or nobility. The Mohammedan religion was not known in Assam till the reign of Hussein Shah, King of Bengal, who kept his court at Lucknowty, now commonly called Gour. The son of Hussein Shah invaded Assam with a large army; but, being blocked up in the mountains by the Assamians, they were all taken prisoners, and condemned to act as slaves in cultivating the lands. The conquerors allowed the vanquished the private exercise of their religion, but prohibited them the ceremony of Ezen.*

From the time of the capture of Hussein's son and his army, no further attempts were made upon that country, till the accession of Aurungzebe, when Shah Shuja, who had been appointed Soobahdar of

* The ceremony of calling people to prayers from the minarets of the mosques.

Béngal. Bahar and Orissa, by their father Shah Jehan, marched to oppose his brother at the head of a large army. A battle was fought at Kujhweh,* and victory was inclining to the side of Shah Shuja, when it happened that Aurungzebe, with a small party, was at a little distance from the main body of his troops, and Alyverdy Khan, Shah Shuja's bukhshy,† came to make him prisoner. But Aurungzebe, who knew how to turn every accident to his advantage, promised Alyverdy to make him his vizier, if he only would prevail upon Shah Shuja to descend from his elephant and get on horseback. Alyverdy, tempted by this promise, returned to Shah Shuja, and represented to him, that although the main body of the enemy's army was thrown into confusion, yet they continued to fire rockets; and as, while he remained conspicuous upon his elephant, by being all aimed at him, one might by accident hit him, he entreated him to get on horseback, and to allow him to go in pursuit of Aurungzebe, whom he would engage to make prisoner, in an instant. No sooner had Shah Shuja descended from his elephant, than the perfidious Alyverdy sent advice thereof to Aurungzebe, who immediately caused a report to be spread that the fortune of the day was changed, and Shah Shuja slain. Shah Shuja's army, not seeing their prince upon his elephant, credited the report, and terror seizing them all, a general flight

* Kajwa—near Allahabad (30 miles to the west).

† Pay Master.

Emperor. The ill success of Meer Jemlah's expedition effectively prevented any further attempts to conquer Assam.

The Berumputter, which is rather a sea than a river, the opposite shore not being visible from the banks on this side, runs through Assam. The sands of the Berumputter abound with gold dust, and the Rajañ keeps ten thousand men constantly employed in collecting it. The rains in those parts are almost continual. The country is highly cultivated with different kinds of grain; and abounds with apples, quinces, oranges, pears and several sorts of wild fruits; with a great variety of flowers. The musk deer is a native of Assam. In the forests are herds of elephants. Here grows a particular kind of grass, which the Assamians rub over the bodies of their tame female elephants, and the scent engaging the wild males to follow them, they are soon taken; and easily tamed.*

Adjoining to Assam are the mountains of Bhoutunt† where are bred Tanghen horses,‡ which

* The chief *Kheda* (or elephant department) of the later Nawabs was in the Assam frontier and the Garro hills. The Rajas of Susanga helped in these matters. In the Nizamut account book there stood an item of expenditure:—*Amlai-Askan*.—(Ed).

† Bhootan.

‡ Jangan—a hardy breed of horses. Shib Singha was then the king of Assam.

are brought to Rungpur for sale. The climate of Bhoutunt being severely cold, the inhabitants are generally clothed in thick woolen dresses. They have an intercourse with Cashmeer, by a short road over the mountains.

As soon as the Rajah of Assam received advice of the appointment of Moorshed Kuly Khan to the joint offices of soobahder and dewan, he sent Budellee Bhookun to him as ambassador,* with an ivory throne and palkee, pods of musk, and other rarities. His example was followed by the Rajah of Coatch Bahar, who also sent an ambassador with a nuzzir and peishkush.† The Rajah of Tipperah no longer withheld the customary annual tribute‡ of an herd of elephants and other tokens of submission., Moorshed Kuly Khan, in return, sent them dresses;§ and this interchange of presents and compliments became an annual custom during the whole time of his government.

Moorshed Kuly Khan continued to make the collections through his aumils, by displacing the

* The minister must be serving for more than forty years (1663-1704) to be able to come as an envoy both to Mir Jumlah and Murshed Kuly Khan—(Ed).

† Rajah Rupnarayan of Cooch Behar held three parganahs as Zemindar under the Mughal Raj; hence the peishkush (tribute).—(Ed).

‡ Ratna Manikya, the then reigning king of Tripurah, had become a feudatory from the time of Saistah Khan. For Tipperah and Cooch Behar Raj, see Appendix—(Ed).

§ Khelats.

Zemindars, with a few exceptions, where he found them worthy of trust and confidence. He admitted of no charges of *sebundy** nor for the maintenance of an army. Two thousand cavalry and four thousand infantry were sufficient for all his purposes. Nazir Ahmed, who had been originally a foot soldier† was able to enforce payment of all the revenues of Bengal. The regulations and orders of Moorshed Kuly Khan were so absolute, that the most refractory trembled in his presence; and his commands were so implicitly obeyed, that it was sufficient to send a foot soldier to sequester a Zemindary,‡ or punish an offender at the greatest distance.

He did not allow the inferior Zemindars even public access; neither did he permit the Rajahs, or any of his own officers, to be seated in his presence. Two days in the week he administered justice in person; and was so impartial in his decisions, and rigid in the execution thereof, that no one dared to commit oppression. The wolf and the lamb lived in harmony together; the hawk and the partridge dwelt in one nest. His decisions were universally famous.

He prohibited all Zemindars and Hindoos from

* An allowance for servants employed in collecting the revenues.

† Rather a peon; 'সৈয়দ' in the original—(Ed).

‡ 'They had not the heart to sit down in his presence'—(Orig. Ms)—(Ed).

riding in palkees, and allowed them to make use only of straight bamboos for their chowpalehs.*

The munsebdars always attended his court completely armed. In his presence, no person was allowed to salute another. Whoever deviated in the most inconsiderable point from his general regulations, was sure to experience immediately the effects of his resentment. In the arrangements of government he showed favour to no one; but never failed to reward merit wherever he found it. He placed not entire confidence in his mutesuddies,† but required a daily account of the receipts, expenditures and balances which he examined, and then signed with his own hand. On the last day of the month he exacted from the khairah, the jageers, the khasneveesee,‡ the behleh§ and biyootat,|| the amount due, to the uttermost dam.¶ Until the monthly instalments were paid into the royal treasury, he would not suffer any body to be at rest. He put strict

* A meaner kind of Palkee (চৌপালী) Allowing only 'straight bamboos' to 'Hindus' was of course rigid justice in the author's opinion. The translator of the *Niaz* has 'Jawalahs.'—(Ed.)

† Persons having charge of accounts (মুস্তাদী)

‡ An office wherein certain duties were collected and which also had charge of confiscated property. It has been abolished since the company's accession to the Dewany. *Nazarana Khas Navishy*.—See Appendix. I.—(Ed.)

* The privy purse; a tax collected under that name,

§ The offices; another tax.

¶ The fortieth part of a rupee.

mohessils* over the mutesuddies, aumils, canoongoes, and their officers, and confining them in the cutcherry, or in the dewan khaneh, of Chehelsetoon† where they were refused victuals and drink, and not suffered to perform the other necessary calls of nature. Hircarrahs‡ were also employed to discover if any of the mohisseels were bribed to allow them even a drop of water, and they were sometimes kept in this manner so many days as to be brought to the point of death, and reduced to skin and bone. If their servants brought them any sustenance with the connivance of the Mohisseels, if discovered, they were seized by the hircarrahs, and severely punished. To these severities were added the cruelties of Nazir Ahmed. He used to suspend the Zemindars by the heels, and after rubbing the soles of their feet with a hard brick, bastinado them with a switch. In the winter, he would order them to be stripped naked, and then sprinkled with water. And he also used to have them flogged, till they consented to pay the money.

Murshed Kuly Khan employed none but Bengally indooos in the collection of the revenues, because they

* A Person placed over another to collect money from him (মহশীল)

† Literally 'forty pillars'; the Nawab's palace at Moorsheda-
bad. It was not the palace but the great hall of audience—
the Dewankhana of the older Nawabs. Mani Begum's masjid
marks the site of Chehelsulun—(Ed).

‡ Spies.

are most easily compelled by punishment to discover their malpractices; and nothing is to be apprehended from their pusillanimity. When he discovered that an Aumil or Zemindar, had dissipated the revenues, and then, falling in balance, was unable to make good the deficiency, he compelled the offender, his wife and children, to turn Mohamedans.*

Odynarain,† whose family had long enjoyed the Zemindary of Rajeshahy was so distinguished by his abilities and application to business that Moorshed Kuly Khan entrusted him with the superintendence of the Khalseh collections; and placed under his orders Gholam Mohammad Jemidar, with two hundred horse. The Jemidar having demanded his pay in a riotous manner, Murshed Kuly Khan sent Mohammad Jan, one of his *cheelahs*,‡ with troops to punish him. A conflict ensued near the Rajbary, in which the Jemidar was killed; and Odynarain, dreading Murshed Kuly Khan's displeasure, destroyed himself. The Zemindary of Rajeshahy, was then conferred upon Ramjewun and Kanco Khenwar,§ two Zemindars on the

* Not a single instance of this is to be found in History. The Rajahs of Samudragarh (Zemindar—paigana Satsaika) turned Mahomedans—but under different circumstances and certainly not in the period in question.—(Ed).

† For Rajshahi and Udainarayan, see—Appendix, I.—(Ed).

‡ A slave, born in the family.—(Gladwin.) Lit.° A disciple. Here an adherent—a creature.—(Ed).

§ Kali Kumar, son of Ramjeeban, elder brother to

east side of the Ganges, in consideration of their having been more exact in the payment of their rents than the other Zemindars of Bengal.

The collections of the year were always completed by the end of Cheyte, and Moorshed Kuly Khan held the Bengal *pooneah** in the beginning of the month of Bysack. He then dispatched to Dehly the royal revenues, which amounted to a crore and thirty lacks of rupees. The bags of treasure were put into two hundred carts, and escorted by a guard of 300 cavalry, and 500 infantry, with the Darogah of the treasury. The savings out of the Jageers, and Khassneveesy, he remitted separately. Along with the treasure, he sent for the Emperor, a number of elephants, tangeher, and goonth† horses, buffaloes, antelopes, hawks, fine linens for the Emperor's own wear, fabricated at Jehangeernagur, shields made of rhinoceros's hides, Sylhet mats, woven of gold and ivory, musk, and clothes of Assam, sword blades called bunpassy,‡ and many valuable curiosities in presents from Europeans. The Soobahdar, accompanied by his officers, went with the treasure about two miles, as

Raghuñandan the founder of the Nattore house. (Vide—Appendix, I)—(Ed.)

* *Punyaha*—In those days the Suddar Punyaha at Musshedabad, was a ceremony of great importance, the principal Zemindars attended in person or through their Vakils—(Ed.)

† A very small breed of hill horses.

‡ Banpas Kamarparah (in Burdwan) was at that time the Sheffield of Bengal.

far as Jehpayedeh; and in order to provide against accidents, as well as for the information of the Dewans of the presence, he caused an account thereof to be entered in the public intelligence, transmitted to Court by the proper officers.

It was then the custom, that when the treasure of Bengal arrived on the borders of Bahar, the Soobahdar thereof sent his own escort to convey it to the fort of Patna, where the carts were changed; and from Bahar it proceeded in like manner through the other Soobahs, till it reached Dehly.

The upright and judicious conduct of Moorshed Kuly Khan was so conspicuous, that the Emperor was continually bestowing favours upon him; till at length he obtained the titles of Motemen-ul-Moolk Allaed dowlah, Jaffer Khan, Nussier^e, Nassir jung^a with a munseeb of seven thousand zatt and the standards of the fish[†] and the Merateb,[§] and was

* "The faithful servant of the Empire, the glory of the State, Jaffer Khan Nasiri the victorious in war." Nusseree is a particular sect of the Scheetees, who affect that Aly was divine.—(Gladwin.),

† An assignment for the support of a personal munseeb or dignity, independent of what is allowed for the payment of his troops.—(Gladwin.) Rather a command, of seven thousand "हज़ार हाजीरी"—an honorary tile.—(Ed.)

‡ "गोही"—A standard with a golden fish on the top of the staff.

§ Another standard with a golden ball on the top of the staff.

enrolled amongst the principal Omrahs of the Empire. His interest with the Emperor was now so great, that all appointments in Bengal were made solely at his recommendation; and, without his approbation, it was impossible to obtain the royal assent to any application. If any one happened to obtain an appointment in Bengal by the means of any of the principal courtiers, Jaffer Khan would not allow him to act.

The Munsebdars, seeing the credit which Jaffer Khan had obtained, were now as eager to be stationed in Bengal, as they had before been anxious to avoid it, and solicited his recommendation, which always obtained the royal approbation.

Seif Khan, the grandson of Ameer Khan* who was related to the royal family, at the request of Jaffer Khan was ordered to be stationed with him. As soon as he arrived in Bengal, Jaffer Khan appointed him Foujdar of Purnea, and Governor of the fort of Jilalgurh, on the borders of Morung, together with its rich Jageer Mushroot of Beernagur, commonly called Dehrumpoorah and Gowndwareh which formerly were part of Behar, but had been lately annexed to Purnea. Jaffer Khan offered him in marriage Nefuseh Khannum, the daughter of Shuja Mohammed Khan, his son-in-law; but Seif

* In the *Seir-ul-Mutaqherin*, Seif Khan is mentioned as the son of Umdutah Mulk Amir Khan, Subadar of Kabul, Vol. II.—p. 574.—(Ed.)

Khan excused himself from accepting the honour intended him ; which refusal, however, made no alteration in the behaviour of Jaffer Khan, who on account of his high descent, shewed him every kind of favour and respect, and remitted all increase in the revenues of Purnea, in order that he might have the credit of giving him a provision suitable to his birth and pretensions.

Seif Khan being appointed Governor of that province, with the most absolute powers, expelled from the Zemindary of Beernagur the son of Beer Sawh who had rebelled and opposed him in arms in several actions. He followed the example of Jaffer Khan, and imprisoning all the Zemindars collected annually, from Purnea, eighteen lacks of rupees, the whole of which was at his disposal. He afterwards extended the boundaries, and considerably increased the revenues. The Zemindar of Morung, intimidated by his power, gave no molestation, which enabled him to clear away the jungles, and bring into cultivation large tracts of land at the foot of the mountains. Jaffer Khan was fully apprized of those augmentations of the collections, and allowed Séif Khan to enjoy them ; whilst he, in return, always shewed great respect to the Soobahdar. Every year he paid a visit to Jaffer Khan, at Moorshedabad, with, whom he lived upon terms of brotherly affections.

Seif Khan paid his troops half in specie, and half in old goods and furniture. He also used to bestow upon his companions and inmates, women

from his harem, on which account Jaffer Khan used to call him *Zun Bukhsh* or the "bestower of women," and in private would laugh and ridicule him.

Purnea is watered by the rivers Cowsee and Sownra. Some parts are very low, and large tracts of cultivated soil are frequently washed away by the cataracts from the mountains, during the periodical rains. The productions of this province are rice, wheat, mash, mustard seed and other grain in abundance, turmeric, black pepper, large cardamom, salt-petre, ghee, and teizpaut, which is an aromatic leaf of a large tree. The fruits are, few being only the mangoe, the kuthel,* the pineapple, the lime and the plantain.

The mountains of Morung are six days' journey north of Purnea. Their forests produce the timber called Bahaderee † so useful in building. There is a road over these mountains from Cashmeer to Niepal but craggy, and in some parts very steep.

Half of the present province of Purnea consists of annexations from Behar. The fort of Jilalgurh was built to owe the Morungians into obedience.

Seif Khan had always a store of grain sufficient for a year's consumption, no part of which was suffered to be exported.

The water of Purnea is very unwholesome, from

* By Europeans called Jack.

† *Shal* wood.

whence many of the inhabitants are afflicted with wens in their necks.

In Purnea, there are not any buildings of brick and stone, excepting the fort and the palace called Loll Baugh.

Cundahgolah, on the banks of the Ganges, is a place of great trade; and on account of the cheapness of provisions, well inhabited by people of all nations.

The country in general is fertile, and well planted with trees: Sireeneah is more fruitful than Purnea. The sicca rupee, and Morady* of Azeemabad, are the coins most current in this province.

The Raja of Morung used formerly to make frequent predatory incursions into Purnea; but from the dread of the imperial arms, he now resided in the mountains. At first there were disputes concerning the newly cultivated lands on the boundary, but Jaffer Khan sent reinforcements to Seif Khan, when the Rajah fled to the mountains; after which the troops returned. His tribute consists of hawks. From Cundahgolah to Morung which is ten days' journey, the country of Purneah is a fine open plain. The Morung mountains have a communication with Coatch Behar and Asham.

Jaffer Khan did not forget Darpanarain's obstinacy in having formerly refused to authenticate his accounts; but the Sudder Canoongoe being an

* A copper coin about 60 to a rupee.

under pretence of scrutinizing his accounts kept him in close confinement and is accused of having there starved him to death. On the demise of Darpanarain, ten sixteenths of the Canoongouey* were given to his son Shewnarain† and to Joynarain, the man who had signed Jaffer Khan's accounts, were left only six tenths‡ of that office.

Zya eddin Khan, Foujdar of Hooghly, because he had obtained his office from Alumgeer, considered himself totally independent of Jaffer Khan's authority, and paid no regards to his orders. But upon Jaffer Khan's representing to Alumgeer the inconvenience of divided authorities, he annexed the Foujdary of Hooghly to the Nizāmut. Jaffer Khan immediately dismissed Zya eddin from the Foujdary and appointed Wullee Beg to succeed him. When Wullee Beg arrived at Hooghly, the degraded Foujdar came quietly out of the fort, with intention of repairing to the Emperor. But Wullee Beg having summoned Kinkar Sain the late Peishkar to render his accounts Zya eddin could not allow him to be carried away, and prepared to defend him. Upon this Wullee Beg blocked up the road to prevent the march of Zya eddin, who being secretly

* * For Qanango and the division of his office &c., see Appendix, I—(Ed.)

†, This new division of the office must have been made with the approbation of Alumgeer. (Gladwin.)

‡ A misprint for six sixteenth (6 annas.)—(Ed.)

assisted by the French and Dutch intrenched himself on the plain of Chandernagur. Wullee Beg advanced with his army to the tank of Daybee Doss about a mile and a half in front of the intrenchment. Here he also threw up works, and wrote to Jaffer Khan for succour. In the interim slight skirmishes ensued, till Mulla Rustum Turanny the naib of Zya eddin, and Kinkar Saïn, his Peishkar, having obtained arms and ammunition from the French and Dutch, marched out into the plain and challenged Wullee Beg to come to an action; but he prudently kept within his intrenchment, waiting the arrival of the supplies expected from Jaffer Khan. Shortly after there arrived from Jaffer Khan a reinforcement of cavalry and infantry, commanded by Dulput Sing,* who brought with him a threatening Perwanah to the Europeans for presuming to protect a rebel. Zya eddin nevertheless by the advice of his European friends, sought to take Dulput Sing by surprise; and under pretence of negotiating a treaty, sent a messenger with a letter couched in terms of friendship. In order to render the messenger more conspicuous, they twisted round his head a red shawl. The messenger conformably to his instructions, engaged Dulput Singh in conversation on the top of the intrenchment, when an European gunner took aim with a cannon† and shot him dead upon the spot. Zya eddin handsomely

* Dalip Singh, in the *Riaz-us-Salatéen*.—(Ed.)

† In the MS. the gun is styled 'Lumsur'.—(Ed.)

rewarded the gunner whose skill gained him the victory; for Dulput's men being left without a leader, quitted their intrenchment, and fled with Wullee Beg to the fort of Hooghly. Zya uddin took this opportunity to march to Delhy, where he died a few days after his arrival. After his death, Kinker Sain returned from Delhy to Moorshedabad, and, without betraying any signs of fear waited upon Jaffer Khan† who apparently forgave him, but bore him a grudge in his heart. He appointed him Ahdahdar‡ of the Chuckla of Hooghly, and at the end of the year, when he came to Moorshedabad, confined him on pretence of malversation. He ordered him to be fed with nothing but butaloe, milk and salt, which occasioning a disorder in the bowels, he died soon after his return to Hooghly.

* For Zya uddin (Zoody Khan) and his friendship with the English, See C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals*.—(Ed.)

† In the original MS. there is a story about Kinkar Sain waiting on the Nawab (copied in the *Riaz*), to the effect that Kinkar saluted with the left hand with the expr^s: significance that to salute Murshed Kuli with the hand that he had saluted the Emperor with, would be profane. Thereupon Murshed Kuli Khan is said to have retorted by saying "Kinkar is under the shoe." The anonymous author would like to see Murshed Khan follow in the footsteps of his own hero, the Great Mogal Aurangazeb, who although a very serious strict man of work, would often indulge in punning. (cf. his letter to Azim-us-Shan *ante*.)—(Ed.)

‡ An officer of the revenues who makes himself responsible for the collections.—(G) The *Riaz* has got Ghaklader.—(Ed.)

Upon the death of Syéd Ekeram Khan, the Naib Dewan of Bengal, Jaffer Khan appointed to the office Syed Rezee Khan, the husband of Neseeseh Khanum, his grand daughter by Shuja Khan. This Syed Rezee was remarkable for his pride and cruelty, and exercised several new species of severity on the Zemindars and Aumils who fell in arrears.

He ordered a pit to be dug, about the height of a man, which was filled with human excrement in such a state of putrefaction as to be full of worms and the stench was offensive, that it almost suffocated whoever came near it: and because, in the Hindoovee language, *Beikoot*^u signifies Paradise, Syed Rezee Khan, in contempt of the Hindoos, called this infernal pit by that name. The Zemindars or Aumils who failed in their payments, after undergoing the severities before described, were ducked in this pit. He also used to oblige them to wear leather long drawers, filled with live cats. He would force them to drink buffaloes milk mixed with salt, till he brought them to death's door by a diarrhoea. By these means he used to collect the revenues to the uttermost *dam*.

Jaffer Khan, at the end of the year, after setting apart the royal revenues, which were fixed at a crore and thirty lacks, used to bury the surplus collections, and the profits which he derived from the jageers.

Jaffer Khan being sensible that the prosperity of Bengal, and the increase of the revenues depended

upon its advantageous commerce, particularly that carried on by the ships from Europe, shewed great indulgence to merchants of every description, but was, however, rather partial to the Moghuls. He was jealous of the growing power of the Europeans in Bengal, and positively prohibited them from fortifying their factories with bastions or ditches.

The encouragement which was given to trade by Jaffer Khan, who directed that nothing but the established rate of duties should be exacted, soon made the port of Hooghly a place of great importance. Many wealthy merchants, who resided there, had ships of their own, on which they traded to Arabia, Persia, and other countries.

The English factory at Hooghly, which was situated close to Ghowighaut and Moghulpooreh, sunk at once into the river, in the middle of the day, whilst the English were at dinner. A few lives were lost, and the rest escaped with difficulty; but their merchandise, and property of every description, totally perished. Mr. Charnock, their chief, looked out for a proper spot for a new factory, and pitched upon the garden of Bannarassy, the English Company's Gomashtah,* situated at Ghowighaut, close to the river. He bought the ground, and without asking permission from the government, began to build a new factory, which he surrounded with ditch, and fortified with bastions. When the factory was nearly finished, and the surrounding wall entirely completed, the Moghuls and native merchants who live in the neighbourhood of Moghulpooreh, complained to the foudar, Meer Nassir, that they were overlooke

* A factor.

from the terraces of the houses in the new factory, some of which were two stories high. The foudar did not choose to interfere immediately in the disputes between the native and European merchants, without express orders from Jaffer Khan, and therefore wrote to him on the subject: the mogul also repaired to Moorshedabad, where they made heavy complaints of the encroachments of the English, which operated, so far with Jaffer Khan, that he sent a perwannah to the foudar, wherein he was positively ordered to prohibit any further progress in the construction of the new factory. The foudar communicated to the English the purport of the Nawab's * order. The workmen immediately refused to go on with the building, and deserted; and thus the factory was left half finish'd. Mr. Charnock having at this time but a small number of troops, and only one ship, was not in a condition to maintain his ground by resistance. He, therefore, contended himself with setting fire to all the houses on the side of the river; and embarking his men on board the ship, weighed anchor to go to sea. The foudar sent orders to the tannahdar † at Mukhwah to seize the ship. The tannahdar accordingly ran across the river a strong iron chain, which had been provided sometime before to impede the incursions of the pirates of Arkung, and the Mughls, ‡ who were used to infest the river. The ship was stopped for sometime, but at last Mr. Charnock contrived to

* Corruptly written nabob.

† A commander of a small fort, or of a body of stationary guards.

‡ A savage race of people, who inhabit the country bordering upon Tipperah.

break the chain, and set sail for the coast of Coromandel.

There happened at that time to be a great scarcity of grain in Alumgeer's camp in the Decan; and the English settlements in the Carnatic having been very active in sending supplies by their ships, Mr. Charnock met with such a favourable reception from the Emperor, that he obtained a firmaun, confirming the English Company in all the privileges which they had before enjoyed, and permitting them to erect a new factory in Bengal; and in lieu of the duty of two and a half per cent. collected at the port of Hooghly from the ships of the English Company, the Emperor accepted of an annual peishkush of three thousand rupees. When Mr. Charnock returned to Bengal with the imperial firmaun,* he sent yakeels with valuable presents to Jaffar Khan, who, in compliance with the Emperor's edict, gave the English permission to erect a factory at Calcutta.†

* A regal mandate, or edict.

† The monument of Job Charnock is in the Calcutta Church-yard, and has the following inscription;

. D. O. M.

*Jobus Charnock, Armig^r
 • Anglus, et nup' in hoc
 Regno Bengalensi,
 Dignissim' Anglorum
 Agens.*

*Mortalitatis suæ exuvias
 Sub hoc. marmore deposuit, ut
 in spe beatæ resurrectionis ad
 Christi Judicis adventum
 1. ebdormirent*

Formerly Satgong was a very considerable city, and the residence of the foudar and other officers of the government; but, having been very much impaired by

*Qui postquam in solo non
Suo peregrinatus esset diu,
reversus est domum suæ
clernitatis decimo die Januarii,
1692.*

In clearing away the ground, for the foundation of the new church there was dug up a slab of black stone, with the following inscriptions :

Under this stone lyes interred
the Body of
William Hamilton, Surgeon,
who departed this Life
4th December
1717.

His memory ought to be dear to this nation, for the credit he gained the English, in curing Ferrukhseer, the present King of Indostan, of a malignant distemper; by which he made his own name famous at the court of that great Monarch; and, without doubt, will perpetuate his memory, as well in Great Britain, as other nations of Europe.

In English thus :

William Hamilton, Physician, in the Service of English Company, who had accompanied the English Ambassador to the enlightened presence, and having made his own name famous in the four quarters of the Earth, by the cure of the Emperor, the asylum of the world, Mohammed Ferrukhseer, the victorious; and with a thousand difficulties, having obtained permission from the Court, which is the refuge of the universe, to return to his country; by the Divine decree, on the fourth of December, one thousand seven hundred and seventeen, died, in Calcutta, and is buried here.

the encroachments of the river, they removed to Hooghly; which soon became a flourishing city.

The mild and equitable conduct of the English, in their new settlement, gained them the confidence and esteem of the natives; which, joined to the consideration of the privileges and immunities which the Company enjoyed, induced members to remove thither with their families; so that in short time Calcutta became an extensive and populous city.

Sittaram, the Zemindar of pergunnah* Mahmoodabad entertained a band of robbers, with whom he used to infest the roads, and Carry off the cattle from the neighbouring country; and, when persued, they took refuge in the jungles and lakes. Abu Toorab, the foudar of the Chuckla of Bhoosnah, in Sircar† Mahmoodabad, was a syed,‡ related to the imperial house of Timour, and moreover a man of great abilities; but being above courting the favour of Jaffer Khan, the latter slighted him; and his establishment was so small and ill paid, that he was obliged to suffer these enormities of Sittaram, for want of a sufficient force to oppose him. Whenever received any supplies, he sent a party after these freebooters, who then retreated to their hiding places till he had tired out their pursuers, when they returned to their former practices. At last Abu Toorab entertained Peer Khan, a Jemindar,§ with two hundred

* A division, consisting of a number of villages.

† A division, consisting of a number of pergunnahs.

‡ A descendant of Mohammed, by Ali and his daughter Fatima.

§ Jemaatdar, a military commander,

horse, whom he sent in pursuit of Sittaram and his band. Sittaram receiving intelligence thereof, placed a party in ambush to cut off the Jemindar and his men. Abu Toorab was at this time upon a hunting party, with a few attendants and friends; Sittaram, mistaking him for Peer Khan, gave orders for him to be followed and attacked.

Although he cried out to the assassins, that he was Abu Toorab, they would not listen to him, but put him to death. When Sittaram came up and saw Abu Toorab lying dead upon the ground, he bewailed his death, beat his head against the earth, and told his followers that Jaffer Khan would revenge the injury, by fleeing him and them alive, and by desolating all the country of Mahmoodabad. The body of Abu Toorab was carried to Bhoosnah, and interred there.

When Jaffer Khan received intelligence of the murder of Abu Toorab, he was greatly alarmed, being apprehensive of incurring the displeasure of Alumgeer, for the neglect that had been shewn to this great man. He appointed his own brother-in-law, Bukhsh Aly Khan foudar of Bhoosnah, and sent him, with a considerable force, to apprehend Sittaram and his party. Perwannahs were issued to all the neighbouring Zemindars, to assist in seizing Sittaram, and threatening, that if he was allowed to make his escape through any of their Zemindaries, they should be expelled from their lands, and suffer other punishments. They accordingly hemmed him in on all sides, till the arrival of Bukhsh Aly Khan, who seized Sittaram, his women, children, and accomplices, and sent them in chains to Moorshedabad. Jaffer Khan condemned Sittaram to have his head

enclosed in a raw hide, and after being impaled alive, to be hung on a tree, on the high road from Moorshedabad to Jehangeernagur and Bhusnah, for an example to other Zemindars. The wives, children and accomplices of Sittaram, were condemned to suffer perpetual imprisonment at Mahmoodabad. His Zemindary was given to Ramjewari; and all his property confiscated into the khassneveesy. The proceedings were entered in the public records; and Jaffer Khan also wrote a representation thereof to the Emperor.

When Alumgeer died in the Dekhan, Behader Shah, his eldest son, mounted the throne at Dehly, when he assumed the title of Shah Alum,* and proved a wise and just prince. Contrary to the politicks pursued by his father, he set at liberty all the princes of the royal family whom he had confined, and made them his companions; and, by his condescension and kindness, attached them heartily to his interest. Jaffer Khan sent him a nuzzir and peishkush, and obtained a khelut,† with a confirmation of his former sunnud.‡

Azeem us Shan, who was at his time Soobahdar of Bahar, left Sirbullend Khan, his naib. at Patna, and repaired himself to Dehly.

Sultan Ferukhseer, a short time before the inauguration of Shah Alum, had come from Jehangeernagur to Moorshedabad, where he took up his residence at Loll Baugh, with the permission of Jaffer Khan, who gave

* The King of the world.

† A dress given to a person invested with

‡ A grant.

him a very kind reception, and appointed for him an establishment suitable to his rank.

After a reign of seven years, Shah Alum died, and his eldest son, Sultan Moezeddeen,* with the assistance of Assad Khan the Vizier, and some others of the nobility, after killing Azem us Shan in battle, succeeded to the empire. Jaffer Khan sent him the usual presents, and he, in imitation of his predecessors, confirmed the sumud of Jaffer Khan, who had invariably observed the utmost punctuality in remitting the revenues of Bengal to the reigning Emperor.

When sultan Ferukhseer first entertained thoughts of dethroning Moezeddeen, he applied to Jaffer Khan for supplies of money and troops. But he positively refused, declaring that no consideration should make him depart from his duty to his lawful sovereign.

Ferukhseer did not press Jaffer Khan any farther, but depending solely upon fortune, began his march from Bengal, at the head of a very inconsiderable body of men, with the royal artillery, which he had brought from Jehangeernagur. On his arrival at Bahar, a party proclaimed his Emperor; when he raised contributions from the merchants of that province. He marched from thence to Benaris, where he wanted to borrow a crore of rupees from Nigger Seat, and other merchants: to be repaid as soon as he should be fixed on the throne: and he actually obtained some lacks from them on those conditions. Syed Abdullah Khan, and Syed Hassan Aly Khan, the two brothers, who were Nazims of Oudh and

* The glory of religion; called also Jehandar Shah, or the possessor of the world.

Allahabad, being dissatisfied with Jehandar Shah, joined Ferukhseer with an army, and supplied him with the treasure of both soobahs; and, through their powerful interest, raised him to the throne. The Bengal treasure from Jaffer Khan, which, on account of the disputes about the empire, Shujaeddeen Mohammed Khan, the darogha, had deposited in the garden of Shehr Ara. under a guard of three hundred cavalry, was also seized by them, and enabled them to entertain a large army. Syed Hassan Aly Khan, in return for his eminent services, was raised to the vizarut.

Ferukhseer being greatly dissatisfied at the conduct of Jaffer Khan, appointed to the Soobadary of Bengal, Rasheed Khan, the elder brother of Asrasiab Khan, commonly called Mirza Ajmeery, of a noble and eminent family in Bengal, and had been in the royal service; he carried with him an army in order to dispossess Jaffer Khan, who was so little alarmed at this invasion, that he did not think it necessary to raise a single recruit.

Rasheed Khan entered Bengal through the passes of Telliahgurry and Sankreegully. Jaffer Khan quietly waited his arrival at Moorshedabad. Early in the morning, when Rasheed Khan was advanced within three coss of the city, Jaffer Khan sent off a detachment of two thousand horses and foot, commanded by Meer Bengally, and Syed Anwer Jownpoory. A battle ensued, when Syed Anwer was slain, and Meer Bengally obliged to retreat. When Jaffer Khan received intelligence of this defeat, he sent a reinforcement of cavalry under the command of Mohammed Jan, the foujdar of Moorshedabad, and soon after followed him himself on an elephant, with all the troops he could collect together. Another battle was fought on

the plain of Kurreemabad;* adjoining to the city. The presence of Jaffer Khan giving vigour to his troops, they made a fierce attack upon the enemy; and Rasheed Khan, being slain by an arrow from the hand of Meer Bengally his army as totally routed, and many taken prisoners.

Jaffer Khan returned in triumph to the city; and ordered that the heads of Rasheed Khan and his party, should be stuck in a pyramid, on the high road to Dehly.

Ferukhseer, on his way to Dehly, before he had come to an engagement with Jehandar Shah, heard of the fate of Rasheed Khan, and was ashamed at having thus exposed his own weakness.

As soon as Ferukhseer had deposed Jehandar Shah, and raised himself to the throne, Jaffer Khan sent him the usual nuzzir, and peishkush, and remitted to him the accustomed revenues of Bengal, as he had punctually done to all his predecessors. Ferukhseer, hereupon, confirmed Jaffer Khan in his soobahdary.

Futteh Chund Seat, the nephew and gomashatah of Jugger Seat Manick Chund, who had rendered very important services to Jaffer Khan, was by him recommended to the favour of the Emperor; who, in consequence, conferred upon him the title of Jugget Seat, and appointed him banker to the Bengal treasury.

On the death of Syed Rezze Khan, dewan of Bengal, the Emperor Ferukhseer, at the intreaty of Jaffer Khan, appointed to that office his grand son, Mirza Assedullah,

* It is at present convered with houses, and forms a part of the city of Moorshedabad.

he son of Shujaeddeen Mohammed Khan, Nazim of Orissa, with this appointment, Assedullah obtained the title of Sirafraz Khan.

It is the custom of the Empire, that, on the death of an aumeer, or munsebdar, who is the immediate servant of the crown, all his wealth is confiscated, and becomes the property of the government; in so much, that not a grain of his estate goes to his children or family; and even the corpse is unprovided with a winding sheet. Jaffer Khan had no son; but, out of his regard for his grandson, had the fore-sight to purchase, from the income of his own jageer, in the name of Mirza Assedullah, (better known by his title of Sirafraz Khan) the zemindary of the city of Moorshedabad, situated in the pergunnah of Koolheriah of Kismut Chunahkholly, from Mohammed Aman, a talookdar of the aforesaid Kismut and had it registered in the books of the khalseh and of the canoongoes, under the description of Assednagur; and which became known by the appellation of Khass Talook. The reason for Jaffer Khan's conduct herein, was, that in case of a decline of fortune, there might be left for his posterity a plate of victuals, a bare competency to sustain the vital spirit: and that after paying the royal revenue, the profit might come to them, and their name remain, and be preserved in the pages of time.*

He conferred the office of naib of Jehangeernagur upon Mirza Lutfullah, the son-in-law of Shujah Khan; and he also obtained for him the title of Moorshed Kuly Khan.

* As this passage is curious, we have been nearly literal in the translation.

When Syed Abdullah Khan, the vizier, and his brother Syed Hassan Aly Khan, found that Ferukhseer wanted to make himself independent of their authority, they put him to death, and raised to the throne Raffeihul Kudder.

Bengal did not experience any inconvenience from the change of Emperors, as Jaffer Khan was afraid of no one, but ruled with absolute sway: and during his government, the country never suffered from any invasion.

The Germans,* who are an European tribe, at first traded to Bengal, through the medium of the French, who at length exerted their interest so far, in behalf of these new-comers, that Jaffer Khan accepted of their nuzzir, and granted them permission to erect a factory at Bankybazār. At first they dwelt in straw buildings: but afterwards, at a great expense, erected a factory of brick, which they surrounded with a wall flanked with bastions; and cut a ditch, communicating with the river, of such a size, as to admit sloops of considerable burthen. They now inconsiderably boasted, that they would undersell all the other Europeans, which excited the jealousy and secret resentment of the English and Dutch, who supplied the Moghul merchants with money to engage Ahsenullah Khan, the foujdar of Hooghly, to make complaints against the Germans to Jaffer Khan, and to set forth the danger of suffering them to possess a place of such strength. Jaffer Khan, on those representations, sent a perwana to the foujdar, commanding him to hinder them from proceeding any farther with the fortifications; but they

pretended to disbelieve his having such orders, and could not be prevailed upon to desist. Violent disputes ensued, which led to open hostilities on both sides. Meer Jaffer, the naib foudjar, threw up an intrenchment, to defend himself from the shot of the cannon; and the passage of the river for boats was entirely stopped. The French now secretly aided the Germans with arms and ammunition, whilst they openly pretended to assist in negotiating a treaty, through the mediation of Khojeh Mohimmed Fazel Cashmeery, one of the principal merchants of Hooghly. Khojeh Mohammed Kamel, the eldest son of that merchant, who was employed in going backwards and forwards upon the business, the Germans seized, by the advice of their friends, the French. The other Europeans, the Armenians, and the Moghuls, entreated for his release;—and for fear of his being put to death, the naib foudjar suspended the military operations for two or three days. At length the merchant was obliged to purchase his liberty with a large sum of money; and to give good assurances, that the treaty should speedily be concluded to the satisfaction of the Germans. At this juncture, the foudjar, by his threats, prevailed upon the French to withdraw their assistance; when he so blockaded the Germans, by land and water, that they were almost starved, having been deserted by all their native servants. The garrison consisted only of an officer, and thirteen other Germans, who served the guns themselves, and kept up such a constant fire, that the foudjar dared not stir out of his intrenchment. At last the German officer had the misfortune to lose his right arm by a cannon ball, upon which he embarked his men on board his ship.

the same night, and set sail for Europe. In the morning, when the enemy took possession of the factory, they found nothing in it but a few guns and some shells. After levelling the fortification with the ground, Meer Jaffer returned to Hooghly.

Shuja Khan, and Nejabut Khan, two Afghan Zemindars of Tunghee Seroopoor, in Sircar Mahmoodabad, after committing several highway robberies in their own district, and making depredatory incursions into the neighbouring zemindaries, at length had the boldness to seize sixty thousand rupees of the revenues of Mahmoodabad, on the way to the treasury at Moorshedabad. The Zemindars carried their complaints to Jaffer Khan, who sent proper persons, to make enquiry on the spot; and when he received their report, authenticated by the signatures of the canongues and the officers of the collections, he ordered the foudar of Hooghly to apprehend the offenders. The foudar, having come upon the Afghans by surprize, seized them without opposition, and sent them in chains to Moorshedabad. Jaffer Khan confiscated all their property, transferred their zemindaries to Ramjewun, and condemned them to perpetual imprisonment. In satisfaction for the plundered treasure, he levied a Mutthote* from all the neighbouring Zemindars. In every place where a robbery was committed, Jaffer Khan obliged the foudar and Zemindar to find out the thief, and to recover the stolen goods. The goods, or their equivalent, were given to the person who had been robbed; and the thief was impaled alive.

* An assessment.

By these means, during his government, travellers were protected on the roads; and every man's house was secure:

The Tannahs of Kutuah and Moorshedgunge, on the Burdwan road, were erected by him, for the protection of travellers, at the time he bore the titles of Moorshed Kuly Khan. He afterwards gave the command of those Tannahs to Mohammed Jan, his cheelah; who, for the farther protection of the country, established another Tannah, called Poobthel, dependant on Kutuah. This man, whenever he seized a highway robber, used to have his body split in two, and hung upon trees on the highroad: on this account he was commonly called Koolhreh, or *the axe*. He was always attended by executioners, with their axes; and his name was the terror of the thieves.

Since the time of Shayisteh Khan*, there had not appeared in Bengal, nor indeed in any part of Hindostan, an aumèer who could be compared with Jaffer Khan for zeal in the propagation of the faith; for wisdom in the establishment of laws and regulations; for munificence and liberality, in the encouragement and support given to men of family and eminence; for rigid and impartial justice, in redressing wrongs, and punishing offenders: in short, whose whole administration so much tended to the benefit of mankind and the glory of the creator. His judicial decisions were so rational and proper, that they were as much respected and obeyed as the decrees of those monarchs, whose names are most renowned for equity and justice. He was such an

* Shayisteh Khan was Alimgeer's maternal uncle.

observer of his word, that he never failed in the performance of any engagement. He slept but little; and carefully observed the stated times of prayer; and frequented the congregations of the Sunnies.* From breakfast to noon, he employed himself in copying the Koran; and in administering justice. Every year, he sent Korans of his own writing, with valuable offerings, to Mecca, Medina, and other holy places.

He maintained above two thousand readers, beadsmen, and chanters, who were constantly employed in reading the Koran, and in other acts of devotion. During the first twelve days of the month Rebbi ul Awwel, which include the birth and death of the holy prophet, he feasted people of all conditions; and on those nights, the road from Maheenagur to Lall Baugh, which is above three miles, was illuminated with lamps, representing verses of the Koran, mosques trees, and other figures. Near an hundred thousand persons were employed on these latter occasions; and, on the firing of a gun, the whole was illuminated at once, exhibiting, in an instant, such a sheet of light as astonished the beholders. He also kept the festival of the prophet Khyzir,† when paper boats, decorated with lighted lamps, are set afloat upon the river.

Besides feeding a multitude of people, he also

* The Sunnies acknowledge the succession of Abu Beker, Omar, Othman of Ali, and receive the Koran and traditions in the sense they are expounded by their four great doctors, Abu Hanifeh, Malek, Shafeei, and Hembel. This is the established faith throughout Hindostan.

† Khyzir, is supposed, by some, to be the prophet Elias.

provided food for the beasts of the field, and the fowls of the air.

He always provided against famine, and severely prohibited all monopolies of grain. He constantly made private enquiries concerning the market price of grain; and, whenever he discovered any imposition, the offenders suffered the most exemplary punishments.

If the importation of grain to the cities and towns fell short of what had been usual, he sent officers into the country, who broke open the hoards of individuals, and compelled them to carry their grain to the public markets. Rice was then commonly sold at Moorshedabad; at four maunds for a rupee; and the prices of the other provisions were in proportion. He also strictly prohibited the exportation of grain; and the fujdar of Hooghly had express orders to see that no ship, belonging to Europeans or others, was suffered to carry away more than was sufficient for the victualling of the crew, during their intended voyages. Neither were any merchants suffered to have any stores of grain.

He was so punctual in the performance of all tokens of respect towards his sovereign, that he would not sit down in a royal boat; and when, in the rainy season, the Emperor's nowareh came from Jehangeernagur, for an exhibition, he went out to meet it; and turning his face towards the seat of government, made his obeisance, presented his nuzzir, and kissed the deck of the state boat. Engagements between elephants being prohibited from court, he did not allow them within his jurisdiction; but used to exhibit and be present at those between elephants and tigers, and other animals. He took no

offence to pass unnoticed, the father carried his complaint before Jaffer Khan. He commanded, that the offender should be stoned to death, conformably, to the ordinance of the Koran; and notwithstanding all the entreaties of Ahsenullah, who was a great favourite, the sentence was actually executed:

In his judicial proceedings he was guided by the decisions of Cazy Mohammed Sheref, who had been appointed to the office by Alumgeer, and was universally eminent for his integrity, learning and wisdom. During the reign of Alumgeer, and the nizamat of Jaffer Khan, the office of Cazy was not prostituted to sale, and none but men of learning and fair character were permitted to act in that capacity:

A fakeer,* having asked charity of Bindrabund, a talookdar† of Chunakholly, he was displeased at his manner, and turned him out of the house. The fakeer collected together a number of bricks, with which he erected a wall on Bindrabund's road, and gave it the name of a mosque, and from it called the people to prayer. Whenever Bindrabund passed that way, he vociferated the ezan,‡ and so vexed him, that in a rage he threw down some of the bricks, abused the fakeer, and drove him away.

The fakeer complained to Jaffer Khan; and Cazy Mohammed Sheref, in an assembly of men learned in the law, sentenced Bindrabund to be put to death. Jaffer Khan was not willing to take away his life, and

* A mendicant.

† An inferior zemindar

‡ The summons to prayer.

asked the Cazy whether there was not any way of evading the strict letter of the law, to save the poor Hindoo. The Cazy answered, "there may be so much delay, as to allow time for his intercessor to be put to death first; but after that, he must absolutely be executed." All the endeavours of Jaffer Khan, in his behalf, were ineffectual; and although Bindrabund was recommended to the Emperor's mercy by Azeem us Shan, yet it was of no avail; for the Cazy killed him with an arrow from his own hand. After the execution, Azeem us Shan complained to Alumgeer, that the Cazy Mohammed Sheref had killed Bindrabund in a fit of insanity. But the Emperor wrote with his own hand on the prince's letter "Cazy Sheret is on the side of God."* At the death of Alumgeer, Cazy Sheret applied for leave to reign, and all the entreaties of Jaffer Khan could not prevail upon him to continue in office.

During the nizamat of Jaffer Khan, all vexatious taxes remained abolished. The Meeran † of the Cazees ‡ and of the Ehtisab, § had not yet been introduced; neither were any hereditary Cazees dispossessed or changed, who were men of good lives, and had passed the examination of the Chief Cazy.

Jaffer Khan being now far advanced in years, and finding his health decline very fast, gave orders for

* The following are the original words, in a mixture of Hindovee and Persian, which is corruptly called Moors: Cazy Sheret, Khoda Kee Teref.

† A tax collected by the Cazees, and the mohtisebs.

‡ A judge.

§ Ehtisab, is the examination of weights etc. and the officer is called mohtiseb.

building his tomb, with a mosque and a Kehtareh :* Morad, the son of Ismael; Ferash,† was the person employed to superintend the work. He pitched upon a spot situated in the Khass Talook, on the east side of the city. He pulled down all the neighbouring Hindoo temples, and used the materials for raising the new work; the Zemindars, and other Hindoos, would have preserved their temples at any price; but no intreaties or bribes could prevail: not one was left standing in Moorshedabad, or at the distance of four days journey from it. In the remote villages, many of the Hindoos' houses were threatened with destruction, upon pretence of their being dedicated to religious uses, and they were necessitated to redeem them, by the payment of a sum of money. The servants of Hindoos of all ranks were compelled to work, unless their masters paid for their release. So great was the dread of Morad, that no one dared to complain; his written orders were circulated throughout the country, and implicitly obeyed. By these means, in the course of a year, the buildings were completed; and gunge ‡ annexed to the Kehtareh, to keep the whole in repair.

Jaffer Khan appointed his grandson, Sirafrax Khan, his successor, and sole executor of his last testament: and, after delivering over to him all his treasure and effects, and recommending to his protection the public officers, and the servants of his household, quitted this perishable world, and entered on futurity: Sirafrax Khan,

* A square, with shops, &c.

† An officer who superintends the pitching of tents &c.

‡ A public market, where duties are collected.

conformably to the command of his grandfather, deposited his remains under the steps of the mosque. He then confirmed all the officers in their stations, removed all the treasure and effects of the deceased, from the palace to his own house; and exercised the duties of government in the same manner as Jaffer Khan. He advised the Emperor Mohammed Shah of the death of Jaffer Khan; and also wrote on the subject to his father, Shujaeddeen Mohammed Khan.

THE NAIB SOOBAHDARY OF SHUJA EDDEEN MOHAMMED KHAN.

The ambition of Shuja Khan was awakened on the death of Jaffer Khan, his father-in-law, and generous patron; and made him forget the right of Sirafraz Khan to the inheritance of his grandfather, as well as the duty of a parent. He appointed, for his naib in Orissa, Mohammed Tuckee Khan, another son by a concubine; and, leaving him at the city of Cuttack, marched for Bengal with a considerable army; and, in order to obtain a sunnud of the soobahdary, he wrote to Balkishen, Jaffer Khan's agent with Mohammed Shah, and he had great interest at the Court of Dehly. But when Mohammed Shah received intelligence of the death of Jaffer Khan, he conferred the soobahdary upon Khandowran, the Meer Buckhshy,* and Ameer ul

Onah;* who through the management of the agents of Shuja Khan, as well as from personal regard for his old friend, Shuja Khan, sent a sunnud, appointing him his naib in the nizamat of Bengal.

Shuja Khan, received the sunnud on the march, before his arrival at Midnapore; and, considering the place as fortunate gave it the name of Mobarek Munzel;† and gave orders for erecting a brick Kehtareh, and scrai.

Sirafraz Khan received intelligence of the approach of Shuja Khan, and made preparations for marching to Kutuah, to oppose him. But the mother and grandmother of Sirafraz Khan, women remarkable for their prudence and great sagacity, and for whom he entertained great affection and respect, interposed. They represented to him, that his father being an old man, could not long keep him out of the government, and the inheritance of Jaffer Khan's Estate; and, therefore, advised him to be satisfied, for the present, with the office of dewan of Bengal; and not to be guilty of the horrid impiety of appearing in arms against his father, which would scandalize him with all the world. These arguments prevailed so entirely over his resentment, that he went out to meet his father, conducted him to Moorshedabad, and after resigning to him the palace, retired to his own house at Nektakholly; and, from that time, never failed to pay him his respects every morning.

Sirafraz Khan followed the example of Jaffer Khan, so far as regarded the external forms of devotion; and retained many of his karees‡ and others. He was

* Prince of Princes

† The fortunate stage.

‡ *Karee*, in general signifies a reader, but is particularly applied to a reader of the Koran.

always attended by two thousand cavalry in his own pay; and had, moreover, a numerous train of young men. But, from the fire of youth, and in imitation of his father, he was much addicted to women, and took great delight in retirement. He had in his house fifteen thousand women, of different descriptions, amongst whom he dissipated his time; and entirely neglected business. All that could be said in his favour was, his not being a drunkard. His time was mostly spent in rambling about to different country-seats, in company with his women. By the death of Jaffer Khan, he suddenly became his won master; and his father being then old, and called into business, was himself too much addicted to pleasure, to attain his son's reformation. Through the indolence and mismanagement of Sirafrax Khan, many abuses were suffered, which were highly detrimental to the country. He was greatly attached to the doctrines of the Shiites, and other heretics; and associated with those who were used to talk disrespectfully of the companions of the holy prophet.* Sometimes he visited holy men, and implored their blessing. He daily repeated the Dua Sieftee,† but as he neglected to practise the regiment at the same time required, he converted the blessing into a curse, as will be related in its proper place.

Shuja Khan was gallant soldier, munificent, and very assable in his behaviour; but even in old age, amorous, and addicted to pleasure.

* Abu Beker, Omar, of Othman.

† A formulary of prayer, for the destruction of enemies; but which is believed to have no effect, unless the supplicator at the same time leads a good life.

He commenced his government by taking compassion on the Zemindars, and setting them at liberty.⁶ After accepting from them a nuzziraneh,* and upon their agreeing to an increase upon Jaffer Khan's settlement of the revenues, he gave them leave to return to their respective countries. The Zemindars, some of whom had been years in confinement, were glad to purchase their release at any price. Besides the profits arising from the jagheers, with the extra-collections under the descriptions of Emarat,† Karkanehjaut,‡ and nuzziraneh, there was annually paid into the royal treasury, through the house of Juggat Seat, a crore and fifty lacks of rupees.

The old camp-equipage, and unserviceable cattle, that belonged to the late soobahdar, Shuja Khan obliged the Zemindars to purchase at twice their value.

Shuja Khan, out of the estate of Jaffer Khan, sent to Mohammed Shah forty lacks of rupees, besides a great number of elephants, and other valuable presents. At the end of the year, he remitted to Dehly the amount of the revenues, and the accustomed peishkush of elephants, Tanghian horses, fine cloths, and other manufactures.

In reward for the eminent services of Shuja Khan, the Emperor Mohammed Shah conferred on him the following titles :

Motemen ul Mulk, Shujaeddeen, Mohammed Khan. Behadre, Assed Jung—or the faithful servant of the Empire—the magnanimous champion of Religion—Mohammed

* An offering or present.

† Building.

‡ Work Shops, offices.

Khan; *the Brave; the Lion of war*;—a munsef of seven thousand Zat,* and the like number of cavalry, with a khelut, a fringed palkee,† and the standards of the fish, and the morateb.

Being now virtually invested with the soobahdary of Bengal, he exceeded all his predecessors in the splendour and magnificence of his court. The palace of Jaffer Khan being too confined, and ill contrived, he pulled it down, and built another more suitable to his notions of grandeur. On the anniversary of his birth, he was weighed against gold and silver, which were distributed in charity. He augmented the army to twenty-five thousand cavalry, and Berkundaze ‡ infantry. He was very bountiful to his troops and to his servants in general; and thereby sincerely attached them to his interest. He paid great respect to men of learning, and piety; and particularly to dervishes and recluses. He was very charitable: and administered justice with the utmost impartiality. He condemned to death Morad, and Nazir Ahmed, for their infamous extortions; and confiscated their effects. In a word, by his general conduct in the commencement, of his government, he shewed himself deserving of his good fortune.

In the village of Dehpareh, on the banks of the

* The *Zat*, or munsebdar's own particular allowance for the rank of seven thousand, was 45,000 rupees per mensem—Vide English Translation of the *Ayeen Akbery*, vol. 1, page 245, quarto edition.

† None but great munsebdars are entitled to ride in a palkee with a fringed covering.

‡ *Berkundaze* literally signifies *a thrower of lightning*.—I here means a match-lock man.

river Bhagrutty,* Nazir Ahmed had begun to build a mosque, in the midst of a very extensive garden. After his execution Shuja Khan finished the mosque, and laid out the garden with great beauty and elegance; and called it Ferehbaugh.† Here he used to retire in the spring, with his women, and pass his time amidst all the refinements of luxury.

And once a year he used to give, at this place, a grand entertainment to all the officers of his court.

At last he abandoned himself to indolence and pleasure; whilst he intrusted the entire management of affairs to Hajee Ahmed, the Royroyan, and Juggut Seat; whose characters, with some others, shall now be described.

When Shuja Khan was naib soobahdar of Orissa, Royalumchund was, the mohurrir ‡ of his household. This man was now promoted to the office of dewān of the nizamat of Bengal, and had the entire management of all affairs belonging to that department; in the expenses of which he made considerable retrenchments, and was rewarded with a munsef of a thousand Zat, and the title of Royroyan,§ and honour that had never before been conferred upon any officer of the nizamat, or of the dewanny of Bengal.

Hajee Ahmed, and Mirza Mohammed Aly; were the sons of Mirza Mohammed clerk of Kitchen to the Emperor Azem Shah. Hajee,|| at the death of his father, succeeded to his place, and was afterwards

* The Cossimbazar river. † The garden of cheerfulness.

‡ Any person who keeps accounts.

§ The principal officer under the dewan.

|| He is so called from having performed a pilgrimage to Mecca.

made Superintendent of the jewel office ;—and, upon the death of Azem Shah, during the contest for the empire, Hajee and his brother eloped with some valuable jewels, and passed through the Dekhan to Orissa,* where they entered into the service of Shuja Khan. By vilely prostituting their own women to the desire of Shuja Khan, they insinuated themselves into his confidence and friendship, and acted their parts with such art and cunning, as far exceeded all that is related of Keleelah, and Dumnah,* in the fable. When Shuja Khan obtained the naib soobahdary of Bengal, Mirza Aly was appointed foudar of Rajemahl, with a munsef, and the title of Alyverdy Khan. Mohammed Reza, the eldest son of the Hajee, was made Darogha of the Patchowtereh,† at Moorshedabad ; Aka Mohammed, his second son, was appointed foudar of Rungpoor ; and his third son, Mirza Mohammed Hashem, was honoured with the title of Hashem Aly Khan. The credit of Hajee and his brother increased daily, till at length Shuja Khan was entirely managed by their evil counsels.

Peer Khan Kelanwut, who in his youth, when he was in indigent circumstances at Berhanpoor, had recommended himself to Shuja Khan, by the prostitution of his own wives, and daughters ; and from that time continued his service ; on the removal of Ashenullah Khan, was appointed foudar of Hooghly, and obtained the title of

* * The two crafty jackals, in the *Anwar e soheily*. Part of this admirable work has been translated into French, and from thence into English, and published under the title of "Pilpay's Fables."

† The custom-house.

Shuja Kuly Khan. By his extortions, the port of Hooghly was much deserted, and the duties consequently lessened. He was continually disputing with the Europeans: and, on the most trifling occasions, would apply to Shuja Khan for troops, on pretence of their being necessary to assist him in collecting the duties. He exacted a *nuzziraneh* and a duty, from the English, Dutch and French. Once he took out of some boats a number of bales of raw silk, and cloths, which were English property; and detained them near the fort of Hooghly. A party of English soldiers came immediately from Calcutta, and upon their appearance, the fowjdar took refuge in his womens' apartments. The soldiers mounted the walls of the fort: and after insulting the fowjdar, brought away their goods. He wrote to Shuja Khan a gross misrepresentation of the circumstances, and in consequence, the supplies of grain to Cossimbazar and Calcutta were cut off by the King's officers. The English were constrained to purchase a peace, by consenting to pay three lacks of rupees to Shuja Khan; which sum the chief of Calcutta actually raised by contributions from the merchants; and remitted the whole to Cossimbazar, where it was paid to the nazim.

As a further reward for the services of Shuja Khan, and through the interest of Khandowran, the *najib* sobahdary of Bahar was annexed to that of Bengal, by the removal of Puckered Dowlah.

Shuja Khan appointed Alywardi Khan his *najib* in Bahar, and sent him to Azsemabad with five thousand cavalry, and infantry. Alywardi Khan engaged in his service Abdul Kurteem Khan, a Rohillah, and other Afghan chiefs of Purbhanganah: and they having raised a

large army, he sent them against the Bunjareh, a band of robbers, who under the pretence of carrying on trade, laid the whole country under contribution, and plundered the royal revenues. They were soon defeated, and Abdul Kurreem and his troops were enriched by the spoil.

Alyvardy Khan then employed the Afghans in subduing the rebellious Rajahs of Betteah, and Phoolwareh; after which they reduced the obedience Chuckwar, with the Zemindars of Bhoojpoor, Rajah Scander Singh, Zemindar of Tikaree, and Namdar Khan Mie, who depending upon their jungles and mountains, had long defied the authority of the nazims of Bahar. They all agreed to pay a nuzziraneh, and peishkush; and the revenues were also permanently settled. These conquests brought immense sums to Alyvardy Khan; and Abdul Kurreem and his troops were also made rich by the plunder.

When Alyvardy Khan had thus got possession of the whole country, had made a permanent settlement of the revenues, and found himself at the head of a large army, with a full treasury, he became jealous of the influence of Abdul Kurreem, and had him basely murdered in his own house.

At the instigation of Hajee Ahmed, Alyvardy employing the interest of his old friend Ishak Khan, dewan of the Khalseh at Dehly, with Kummereddeen Khan, the vizier, and other ministers, through their means, without consulting his patron and benefactor Shuja Khan, obtained from the Emperor the title of Mehabut Jung.*

The two brothers now entered into a close confederacy with Alumchand and Jugget Seat, men suited

to their purposes; and laid the design of making themselves entire masters of the three soobahs. Shuja Khan was now superannuated, and incapable of attending to business; and Sirafrax Khan they despised as an ignorant and inexperienced youth. But they were afraid of the abilities of Mohammed Tuckee, who was a brave officer, and beloved by the army; and therefore sought every occasion to sow dissensions between him and Sirafrax Khan, in order to engage them to destroy each other. Accordingly, when Mohammed Tuckee came to Moorshedabad to visit his father, Hajee contrived to create such a misunderstanding between him and his brother, that they drew up their troops, and would actually have come to a pitched battle, had they not been prevented by the interposition of their father; whose authority, joined to that of the princesses, effected a conciliation; and Mohammed Tuckee was sent back to Cuttack, where he died shortly after.

Meer Hubeeb Shirazy was, for sometime, a pedling broker at Hooghly; and, although he talked the Persian language fluently, was neither able to read or write. But, having formed an intimacy with Moorshed Kuly Khan, at Moorshedabad, he accompanied him to Jehangeernagur; and there became his deputy. Meer Hubeeb was very industrious in office, and made considerable retrenchments in the Nowareh, and other expensive establishments; and also acquired great sums for his master, by conducting various monopolies. He treacherously put to death Nourullah, the Zemindar of Jilalpor; and confiscated his property, which was very considerable. He set on foot an expedition against Tipperah, under the immediate management of Aka Sadick, the Zemindar

of Pautpissar; a man whose character was perfectly conformable to his own principles:

The son of the late Rajah of Tipperah having been expelled by his uncle, he joined Aka Sadick; and Meer Hubeeb gave him hopes of obtaining the zemindarry. He conducted the troops through the passes, and over the fords of the rivers into Tipperah; when the rajah, unable to make opposition, took refuge in the mountains; leaving Meer Hubeeb in quiet possession of the country. He then took the forts of Chundyghur and Jyneteh, in which he found great riches: From that time Tipperah was annexed to the empire: Meer Hubeeb settled the country; placed strong garrisons in different parts; conferred the zemindarry upon the rajah's nephew, and appointed Aka Sadick foudjar. After which he returned to Jehangeernagar with the treasure and plunder, and a great number of elephants.

Moorshed Kuly Khan sent Shuja Khan an account of the conquest of Tipperah, with a considerable share of the plunder. Shuja Khan named Tipperah *Roshenabad*, or *the city of light*; and gave to Moorshed Kuly Khan the additional title of *Behadre*; and to Meer Hubeeb that of *Khan*.*

On the death of Mohammed Tuckee Khan, the naib soobahdary of Orissa was conferred upon Moorshed Kuly Khan; who took along with him Meer Hubeeb. Through the management of the latter, the revenues of Orissa were considerably increased; at the same time that he made great reductions in the expenses. During

* The Nazims conferred the inferior titles of *Khan*, or *Lord* and *Behadre*, or *valiant*.

Keerut Singh, Zemindar of Burdwan, became security for the performance of his engagements, when he was permitted to return to Bhirkhoom.

Whilst Shuja Khan, according to the custom of Sultans and great Omrahs, gave orders, during his life time, for erecting a mosque and his mausolium. They were accordingly built in Dehparch, on the bank of the Bhagrutty, opposite to Moorshedabad.

Whilst Nadir Shah was at Dehly, and just after the death of Khandowran, Shuja Khan took to his death bed. He sent to Orissa Yahia Khan, and Doordaneh Begum, the son and wife of Moorshed Kuly Khan. He then appointed Sirafrax Khan his heir, upon condition that he would regard the Hajee, the Royroyan, and Juggut Seat, as the representatives of his father, and implicitly follow their advice in all affairs of moment. Although Sirafrax Khan had no cordiality towards these men, yet for fear offending his father in his last moments, he promised to obey his commands. Shuja Khan then formally delivered over to him the government, and after bestowing some presents upon his favourite servants, paid the debt of nature. Sirafrax Khan ordered his body to be interred in the Mausoleum at Dehparch.

THE NAIB SOOBANDARY OF SIRAFRAZ KHAN.

Notwithstanding Sirafrax Khan's uncontested succession, he was so apprehensive of the intrigues of his enemies, that he did not venture out of the fort to attend

his father's funeral. In obedience to the commands of his father's testament, he entrusted the government to the management of the Hajee, the Royroyan, and Juggut Seat. Their influence increased daily, to the entire exclusion of all Sirafras Khan's old friends, and dependants, who had naturally entertained hopes of preferment, and consequently were dissatisfied at finding themselves neglected. The princesses used their endeavours to prevail upon Sirafras Khan to employ his old servants, upon whose attachment he might rely; but the triumvirate opposed every attempt of the kind, and would not admit of any participation of their power.

The Hajee and Alyvardy Khan had for years formed the design of possessing themselves of the nizamat of Bengal, and they thought the present time favourable for carrying their long concerted scheme into execution. They artfully represented to the Royroyan, and Juggut Seat, that Sirafras Khan was plotting their destruction, in order to make room for his old dependants. After exciting their apprehensions for their own safety, it was agreed that Alyvardy Khan, being ordered to Bengal under pretence of paying his respects to Sirafras Khan, should bring with him a sufficient force to protect them from the evil attempts of their enemies. This was the declared intention of the brothers; but in their hearts they had determined to take away the life of Sirafras Khan.

When Nadir Shah plundered Dehly, every part of Hindostan was filled with the dread of being visited by the merciless invaders. Sirafras Khan, at the instigation of the Hajee, and the Royroyan, actually ordered coin

to be struck, and the Khotbah * to be read in the name Nadir Shah: and, moreover, remitted to him the revenues of Bengal by Moreed Khan, who just before had been sent thither by Kummiereddin Khan, in order to escort the treasure to Dehly. After the departure of Nadir Shah, the Hajeer, and Alyvardy Khan did not fail to avail themselves of these circumstances, to injure Sirafrax Khan with Mohammed Shah; and, by their negotiations with Nizam ul Mulk, and other ministers of State, endeavoured to procure an order for his execution as a traitor.

At the same time Hajeer and his colleagues represented to Sirafrax Khan, that his army was too great, and that by reducing it to a proper strength, he would gain credit with the emperor, by lessening the military expences of the government. The easy and credulous Sirafrax Khan readily consented to have half his army disbanded; and as fast as the men were dismissed from his service, the Hajeer secretly entertained them for Alyvardy Khan; to whom he sent twenty-four lacks of rupees from himself, and his three sons; and other of their relations and friends made them large advances, to be repaid when they should get possession of the soobahdary.

Sirafrax Khan, having received intimation of the plot, from his agents at court, formed a design of emancipating himself, and, with that view, had made the following arrangements. Alyvardy Khan was to be recalled from Bahar, and succeeded by Syed Hassan Mohammed Khan, the son-in-law of Sirafrax Khan:

* The prayer for the emperor.

the foudjary of Rajemahl, with the command of the important passes of Sankreegully, and Telliagury, upon the removal of Attahullah Khan, the Hajee's son-in-law, was to be given to Meer Sherefeddin Bukhsee; and Jesswunt Roy was to have superseded the Royroyan. But these intentions having been secretly discovered by the Hajee and his colleagues, they waited upon Sirafrax Khan, and with the most solemn protestations of inviolable duty, and attachment to his family, set forth the public evils which must ensue from so precipitate a change of men and measures, at the season of the heavy collections of the revenues; and only entreated him, for his own sake, and for the interest of the government, to delay the execution of his plan till the end of the year, of which there remained only three months. Sirafrax Khan, who was of an open and unsuspecting character, swallowed the bait, and gave up his plan altogether.

In the interim, Alyvardy Khan began his march for Bengal, at the head of a powerful army, under pretence of paying a formal visit to the new Nazim.

The Hajee had directed his son-in-law, Attahullah Khan, the foudjar of Rajemahl, to intercept all correspondence between Bengal and Bahar, so that the first intelligence which Sirafrax Khan received of the motions of Alyvardy Khan, was that of his being arrived at Rajemahl. The city of Moorshedabad was thrown into the utmost consternation at the intelligence of this unlooked-for invasion; whilst the Hajee impudently protested, that his brother was only coming to pay his dutiful respects. Sirafrax Khan, however, ordered the Hajee into custody, and sent off a considerable detachment, under the command of Ghowss

Khan, and Meer Sherfeddin, to oppose the farther progress of Alyvardy Khan. Hafeezullah Khan, commonly called Mirza Amanee, (who had married one of Sirafras Khan's daughters) together with Yasseen Khan, the foudar of Moorshedabad, were appointed to take care of the city and the seraglio. Sirafras Khan marched shortly after, attended by the following principal officers: Ghezenfir Hussein Khan, and Hussan Mohammed Khan, (both Sirafras Khan's son-in-law) Meer Mohammed Bauker Khan, Mirza Mohammed, Irej Khan, Meer Kamel, Meer Gudiey, Meer Hyder Shah, Meer Delur Aly, Beejy Singh, Rajah Gundrep, Shumsheer Khan Koreishy foudar of Sylhet, Shuja Kuly Khan, foudar of Hooghly, Meer Hubeeb, Mirdan Aly Khan, and many other munsebdars, besides the troops of the Zemindars, forming altogether a very numerous army, with a large train of artillery. The first day they encamped at Behmeniah.—The second march was to Dewan Serai.—The third day they came to Khemreh. Here, upon examining the ammunition, it was discovered that instead of shot for the guns, they had brought bricks and clods of earth; whereupon, the darogha of the artillery, Sheriar Khan, who was related to the Hajee, was given in charge to the Cheelahs; and succeeded in office by Panchoo, the son of Antonio, a Portuguese physician.

The encampment of Alyvardy Khan extended from Aurungabad beyond Sooty, to Cherka Bilghuttah.

On the fourth day after leaving Moorshedabad, in hour which the astrologers had declared to be fortunate, Sirafras Khan marched out from his encampment to meet the enemy. The troops rushed,

on to the attack with such eagerness, and the artillery was so well served, that Alyvardy Khan's troops gave away, and the victory would have been decisive for Sirafrax Khan, had he not been misled by the evil counsel of the Royroyan; who, seeing that the fortune of his confederates would be totally ruined should Sirafrax Khan pursue the advantage, represented to him that the troops being exhausted with fatigue, and dying of thirst, it would be highly imprudent to expose them any longer to the heat of the day, and therefore advised him to desist till the next morning, when his men having recruited their strength, would gain an easy victory over the routed and disheartened enemy. In compliance with his evil advice, and in direct opposition to the inclination of his troops, Sirafrax Khan gave over the pursuit, and encamped at Geriah Nullah. The enemy had retreated to Rajemahl.

After this he was completely duped by a letter from Alyvardy Khan, couched in terms of submission, and solemnly protesting, that he was only coming to pay his dutiful respects. Sirafrax Khan was so entirely deceived by these professions, that he not only restored the Hajee to liberty, but even sent him to assure Alyvardy Khan of his good disposition, and desire to see him. Along with the Hajee, he sent Shuja Kuly Khan, and Kojeh Bussunt, to make observations on their conduct.

Alyvardy Khan, who had hitherto proceeded with caution, from the dread that if he declared his intention of deposing Sirafrax Khan, he would retaliate upon the Hajee, received his brother with raptures, and considered his arrival as the sure omen of their future victory.

However in order to deceive the messengers, he, in

their presence spoke of his absolute inability to oppose the mighty forces of Sirafraz Khan; and having previously folded up a brick in a piece of cloth, which he pretended was the Koran, made a solemn oath thereon, that he would the next morning throw himself at the feet of Sirafraz Khan, and implore his protection. He presented each of the messengers with an offering of two hundred gold mohurs; and, in short, acted his part so well, that they also were deceived; and on their return, satisfied Sirafraz Khan upon the rectitude of Alyvardy's intentions. Sirafraz Khan was delighted with their report. He called for his bekawul, or clerk of the kitchen, ordered him to prepare an entertainment for the next day; and, with a cheerful heart, went to sleep in his tent. His troops having heard that a peace was concluded, paid no farther attention to their duty.

After the departure of Sirafraz Khan's messengers, Alyvardy Khan called a counsel of his principal officers, when he communicated to them his intention of attacking the enemy's camp, and promised the troops a gratuity of two months pay, and free plunder.

Ghowss Khan, and Meer Serefeddin Khan, who commanded the advanced guard, were encamped about a mile beyond the nullah.* Having learnt from their spies, that Alyvardy Khan was making preparations for battle, they repaired to Sirafraz Khan in the middle of the night, in hopes of prevailing upon him to accompany them very ungraciously; accused them of entertaining unjust suspicions of Alyvardy Khan, and obliged them to return to their quarters immediately.

* A rivulet.

Many of Alyvardy Khan's soldiers entered the camp of Sirafrāz Khan at night, under pretence of congratulating their friends and acquaintance, on the conclusion of the place; and kept lurking about the soobahdar's tent, till they should be called into action. The greatest part of Sirafrāz Khan's new servants were retained by the Hājee, and his old adherents, although they suspected Alyvardy's sincerity, kept silence for fear of giving offence.

About two o'clock in the morning, Alyvardy Khan divided his army into two bodies; one of whom under the command of Nund ullāh, jemidār, he placed opposite to the encampment of Ghowss Khan and Sherfeddin Khan; and the more effectually to deceive those officers, Alyvardy Khan left with his body the elephant standard, in order to make them believe that he was himself in that quarter.

At the head of the other body, consisting of the Afghans and his choicest men, he marched himself, and in the dark of night was conducted towards the enemy's camp, by the hircarrāhs of Ramkunt, the Zemindar of Rajeshahy: and he continued within musket-shot till break of day. In the dusk of the morning, when objects could not be clearly distinguished, a cannon was discharged, and the ball passed through the tent of Sirafrāz Khan. His faithful officers and attendants now represented to him the danger to which he was exposed, and entreated him to make his escape; but he was so infatuated, that he would not believe Alyvardy Khan had any hostile intentions; but said he was only come according to promise, to have a friendly interview. At daybreak the enemy began a brisk cannonade, and

flumbers in the Nazim's camp were killed, before they could prepare themselves for defence.

The greater part of the army deserted to the enemy; but with those who remained, Sirafraz Khan prepared to make a gallant resistance. After performing his devotions, he mounted his elephant, carrying in his hand the Koran, and the Dua Seifee. He advanced with great valour, and discharged all the arrows in his quiver: but after a short conflict, with great slaughter on both sides, Mirdan Aly Khan and his troops were routed, and fled, leaving Sirafraz Khan with only a few of his old servants, and a small party of Abyssinians. The day was utterly lost, when Sirafraz Khan's elephant driver offered to convey him in safety to Budy ul Zeman at Bhirbhoom, as the animal could travel forty cose in twenty-four hours. Sirafraz Khan in a rage gave him a slap on the face, and said, "I will never show my back to these dogs."

The elephant driver, in obedience to his commands, penetrated in to the ranks of the enemy, amidst a shower of balls and rockets. Meer Gudiey, who was seated on the back part of the amaree,* was struck dead by a rocket. Next fell Meer Kamel —then Irej Khan, and other Chiefs; and Meer Deleer Aly was dreadfully wounded. At last a matchlock ball struck Sirafraz Khan on the forehead, and he instantly expired. The Afghans fell to plundering the camp, and set fire to the tents.

Meer Hubeeb, Shumsheer Khan, and Rajah Gundrep Sing, stood by idle spectators: and Meer Hyder

* A seat placed on the back of an elephant.

Shah, with Khojeh Bussent, got both into one ruth; * and pulling down the curtains, fled to Moorshedabad.

We must now speak of Ghowss Khan, and Sherefeddin, who commanded the advanced guard of Sirafrax Khan. Deceived by the elephant standard, they in the dusk of the morning, mistook Nund ullah for Alyvardy Khan, and dragging him from his elephant, put him to death; after which they made great slaughter amongst the enemy, plundered their baggage, and then pushed on to their own camp to gain intelligence of Sirafrax Khan. But before their arrival, Sirafrax Khan had been killed, and Alyvardy Khan was standing upon the field of battle surrounded by a considerable body of men, whilst the rest were employed in plundering. The two Chiefs made a gallant attack with their small party, and threw the enemy into confusion; but Ghowss Khan and his two sons were slain. Sherefeddin, with only sixty horsemen, continued the action, and Alyvardy Khan received an arrow in his side from the hand of this gallant soldier, who was aiming another, when two of Alyvardy Khan's officers, who were old friends of Sherefeddin, stepped forward, and assuring him that Sirafrax Khan was slain, convinced him of the inutility and rashness of persevering; he accordingly drew off his men, and retired towards Bhirbhoom.

During the confusion which was occasioned by the intrepid attack of Ghowss Khan, and Sherefeddin, Panchoo the Portuguese, Ghezenfir Khan, and Hassin Mohammed Khan, Sirafrax Khan's sons-in-law, and many others, took the opportunity of retreating to Moorshedabad.

* A carriage drawn by bullocks.

Bejey Singh, a Rajpoot,* who commanded the rear of Sirafraz Khan's army, was encamped at Kheihreh when he heard from the fugitives, the fate of the battle; he galloped on with only a few horsemen; and penetrating the ranks of the enemy, aimed a spear at Alyvardy Khan; but Dawer Aly, the darogha of the artillery, shot him immediately with a matchlock.—Zalim Singh, his son, who was only nine years old, placed himself over the corpse, with his drawn sword. Alyvardy Khan was highly pleased with the boy; and after commending his valour and piety, ordered that his father's body should be burned, according to the custom of their religion.

The Royroyan, being wounded in the right hand by a shot, flung himself into the river, from whence he was taken out half dead, and carried to his own house; where, out of shame and contrition for his vile conduct, he destroyed himself, by swallowing diamond dust.

During the plundering of the camp, Sirafraz Khan's elephant-driver, unperceived by the enemy, conveyed the corpse to Moorshedabad, where he arrived the same day; and at midnight Yeasseen Khan, and Mirza Amanee, Sirafraz Khan's son-in-law, buried the body in the palace at Nektch Kholly. They then made preparations to defend the city and began to throw up an intrenchment; but, being deserted by their troops, were obliged to submit to the conqueror, who used his victory with great moderation.

* The Rajpoots are a military tribe of Hindus.

THE SOOBAHDARY OF ALYVARDY KHAN, MEHABUT JUNG.

Hajee Ahmed hastened to Moorshedabad, where he proclaimed his brother soobahdar, and in his name promised free pardon and protection to every one. Yeasseen Khan, at his command, secured the public officers of Sirafraz Khan, and all his treasures, together with the haram.

Alyvardy Khan was sensible, that if he had marched his troops into the city, immediately after the victory, it would have been impossible to have restrained them from plundering the treasure and effects of Sirafraz Khan. He therefore remained encamped at Gowbereh three days, and on the fourth entered the city in triumph, held his court as Nazim, and took possession of crores of rupees, that had been amassing from the time of Jaffer Khan.

Alyvardy Khan always kept constant to one lawful wife and took no delight in the company of other women, wherefore the Hajee and his dependants got possession of all Sirafraz Khan's women, amongst whom were above a thousand beautiful girls. Alyvardy Khan sent to Jehangeernagur the wives and children of Sirafraz Khan, and allowed them a maintenance out of the Khass Talook. Nefeeseh Khanum, the sister of Sirafraz Khan, had adopted her infant nephew Aka Baba; and she, having entered into the service of Nowazish Ahmed Khan, the Hajee's eldest son, to regulate the affairs of his haram, was thereby the means of preserving the lives of her brother's children, who would otherwise

have been all sacrificed to the policy and ambition of the Hajee.

When Mohammed Shah received intelligence of the death of Sirafraz Khan, and the usurpation of Alyvardy Khan, he appeared much affected at the relation; but afterwards acted in a manner very unbecoming the dignity and duty of an emperor; for, instead of punishing the traitor, he had the meanness to participate of his plunder; and in return conferred upon him the nizamat of the three soobahs. Out of the estate of Sirafraz Khan, Alyvardy Khan sent Mohammed Shah forty lacks of rupees, together with a peishkush of fourteen lacks. Kummereddeen Khan, the vizier, had three lacks, and Nizam ul Mulk, one lack. He stipulated with government for the accustomed revenue of one crore and thirty lacks. But from the Zemindars he collected a considerable nuzziraneh; and exacted from them, in the name of the emperor, a peishkush amounting to twice the sum that he actually remitted to Dehly on that account.

Alyvardy Khan made also the following arrangements. The office of bukhshee he conferred upon Meer Mohammed Jaffer Khan,* who had married the Nazim's sister-in-law, and was highly respected for his valour, and generous disposition. The office of dewan of the nizamat, with the title of Royroyan, was conferred upon Chine Roy, who had been a mohurrer in the jageer of Jaffer Khan, and was universally esteemed for his integrity and piety. Mohammed Reza Khan, the Hajee's eldest son, and

* He was made nazim of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, upon the death of Surajeddowleh after the battle of Plassey.

who had married a daughter of Alyvardy Khan, obtained the title of Nowazish Ahmed Khan, Shehamet Jung,† with the office of dewan of Bengal, and naib soobahdar of Jehangeernagur, Islamabad, Tipperah, and Sylhet; Hashem Aly Khan, the Hajee's third son, who had also married a daughter of Alyvardy Khan obtained the title of Zeieneddeen,‡ Ahmed Khan, and the naib soobahdary of Bahar. And all the rest of their relations and dependants obtained munsebs, and jageers.

* The licentious conduct of Alyvardy Khan's army, particularly of the Afghans and Behleah,§ who plundered wherever they came, and violated every right human and divine, was a disgrace to his government.

At the commencement of the invasion, Alyvardy Khan had applied to Moorshed Kuly, the naib soobahdar of Orissa, to join him; but, from an inveterate hatred, he had neglected to pay any attention to the requisition: and therefore, as soon as he heard of the death of Sirafras Khan, being apprehensive for his own safety, he augmented his troops, and put himself in a posture of defence. But willing, if possible, to conciliate matters, he sent to Moorshedabad Mekhless Khan, son-in-law to the Hajee, who had been long in his service, to negotiate a reconciliation. The two brothers wrote an artful letter to Moorshed Kuly Khan, giving him hopes of an accommodation, whilst they sent back Mekhless Khan,

* *The caressed of Ahmed (or M hammed).*

† *The dignity of Wer.*

‡ *The ornament of the religion of Ahmed.* He was the fathers of Surajedowleh.

§ A barbarous race of Hindoos, who inhabit Bhoojpoor in Bahar,

with instructions to endeavour to seduce his troops. Alyvardy Khan, shortly after, marched into Orissa, at the head of a very large army. Upon his approach, Moorshed Kuly Khan conveyed his wife and his son Yahia Khan, to the fort of Barahbatty, and then marched from Cuttack to Balasore.

He threw up an intrenchment from the mountains of Neelgury to the river, and there waited the arrival of Alyvardy Khan unsuspecting of the treachery of Mekkless Khan.

Alyvardy Khan arrived at Midnapore by rapid marches; and, after engaging in his interest the Zemindars of that quarter, proceeded to Jelasore, where he encamped. At Rajghaut, on the opposite side of the river Sebunrekha, the Moorbunge rajah had garrisoned another tannah, and thrown up an entrenchment. All Alyvardy Khan's attempts to gain him were ineffectual: but at last, Alyvardy Khan ordered his artillery to cannonade the place, when the rajah and his men deserted the post, and retreated into the jungles. He then marched forward, unmolested, to Ramchunderpoor, between four and five cose* from Moorshed Kuly Khan's intrenchment.

Frequent messages passed between them for near a month, during which time Moorshed Kuly Khan never stirred out of his intrenchment. Alyvardy Khan was at last so much distressed by the want of grain for his army, which consisted of near one hundred thousand men; whilst the periodical rains were near at hand, that

* A crouk or cose is generally estimated at two British statute miles.—*Major Rennell's Memoirs.*

he began to apprehend they would fall a prey to famine and the enemy; and therefore was undetermined whether to make peace, or to go back to Bengal, and return again after the rains. But Mustafa Khan, who commanded his Afghans, was decidedly against pacific measures, and advised him to canton his army in Orissa during the rains.

However, Alyvardy Khan, was soon relieved from his doubts and apprehensions, by the management of his secret agent Mekhless Khan, who, by artful contrivances, prevailed upon the officers of Moorshed Kuly Khan to leave their intrenchment, and come to action, in opposition to the wise plan of delay which Moorshed Kuly Khan had resolved upon, from the conviction that the enemy could not keep the field much longer, but would be forced to return to Bengal, without having effected any thing. Mekhless Khan, by setting forth the pusillanimity of remaining in active in the trenches, in the face of a languid and dispirited enemy, so operated upon the youthful and ambitious mind of Bauker Khan, that he positively refused all further restraint, and marched his men out of the intrenchment to attack the enemy. Thus situated, Moorshed Kuly Khan had no alternative, but was compelled to follow with the main body of his troops. After a brisk cannonade, and a discharge of rockets on both sides, the two armies joined battle:—in the beginning of the engagement, that of Orissa had so much the advantage, that the elephant upon which was Alyvardy Khan, and another, with his wife, were driven back a cose from the field of battle. At this juncture, Mekhless Khan, and Abed Khan, who were mounted upon elephant, deserted to the enemy, with other officers and

troops, as had been pre-concerted with Alyvardy Khan. Added to these defections, the following accident completely turned the fortune of the day: Manickchand, the peishkar of the rajah of Burdwan, had professedly come to the assistance of Alyvardy Khan; but determined to join whichever party might prove the victor, he had maintained a secret correspondence with Moorshed Kuly Khan; and when he saw that he had the advantage in the action, was preparing to join him: but Bauker Aly Khan, who commanded the van of the Orissa army, suspecting him of treachery, would not allow him to join, but compelled him to unite with the enemy, and in consequence, the troops of Orissa were totally routed.

When intelligence was brought to Alyvardy Khan, that the enemy were in their turn repulsed, he rallied his broken forces, and a second conflict ensued. Moorshed Kuly Khan was now worsted, and retreated to Balasore, where he embarked on a sloop, which he had provided against accidents, and set sail for the Dekhan.

Alyvardy Khan pursued Moorshed Kuly Khan to Balasore, and, upon his departure, sent Khyerullah Beg, and Fakeerullah Beg, to seize the wife and son of Moorshed Kuly Khan, whom he had abandoned in the fort of Barahbatty. But Morad Khan, the bukhshée of the rajah of Pursotim, under whose care they had been left, fled with them, by the road of Sittakole, to the Dekhan; and carried with them a great part of the treasure of Moorshed Kuly Khan. However, the officers of Alyvardy Khan arrived in time to intercept a considerable quantity of money and jewels, which was on the backs of elephants, ready to depart.

Alyvardy Khan marched without halting, to Cutteck; where he possessed himself of the remainder of the treasure and effects of Moorshed Kuly Khan. He proclaimed, by beat of drum, a general pardon for all who returned to their duty; and by these assurances of lenity and kindness, prevailed upon the Zemindars to pay him a nuzziraneh, and to conclude a settlement for the revenue. He remained a month at Cutteck; when, after having settled all the affairs of the soobah, he appointed for his naib Said Ahmed Khan, his nephew; to whom he gave the title of Sowlet Jung; * and, leaving with him an army of three thousand cavalry, and four thousand infantry, under the command of Gowjer Khan, marched to Bengal.

Said Ahmed Khan, who had ever been notorious for his mean parsimony, now, in order to lessen the military expenses, entertained at reduced allowances, some of Moorshed Kuly Khan's jemindars, and sent back to Moorshedabad, Gowjir Khan and his men. But as soon as they were departed, the new troops, who had only engaged in this service, to have an opportunity of revenging themselves, all mutinied. Said Ahmed Khan sent Cossim Beg, the commandant of his artillery, and Hedayetullah, foujdar of Cutteck, to negotiate with them; when they killed the former; and the latter, after being dreadfully wounded, with difficulty made his escape. At midnight the inhabitants of the city, headed by the jemindars, attacked the house of Said Ahmed Khan; and after seizing him and his dependants, plundered everything that they could lay their hands upon. They then brought back

Mirza Bauker from Sittakole, and placed him in the government. He got possession of the treasure; made himself master of all Orissa; and the report of his approach spread alarms in Bengal.

Alyvardy Khan marched a second time to Midnapore, by the way Burdwan: upon his approach Mirza Bauker sent his baggage and valuable effects to Sittakole; and retreated, with his army, to Cutteck.

Alyvardy Khan proceeded from Midnapore to Jeleysir; and crossing the river at Rajghaut, marched by Phoolwariah, to Balasore.

Mirza Bauker, perceiving that no dependence could be placed upon his troops, caused a report to be spread, that he was preparing to march out against Alyvardy Khan, whilst in his own mind he had determined to retreat to the Dekhan. The baggage and the prisoners he sent across the river Ghenjewry, to proceed to the Dekhan. At this time Alyvardy Khan was encamped forty cose from Cutteck, where his spies brought him intelligence of these proceedings, at midnight. He immediately sent for Meer Mohammed Jaffer, Mustafa Khan, and some other chiefs, and consulted them on the occasion. It was agreed that Meer Jaffer should immediately march with a detachment, in pursuit of Mirza Bauker; and Alyvardy Khan follow the next morning, with the rest of the enemy. When Mirza Bauker received advice that Meer Jaffer was within five cose of Cutteck, he placed Said Ahmed Khan in a covered rath, along with Hajee Mohammed Ameen, a servant of Moorshed Kuly Khan; two horsemen armed with spears, guarded the carriage, and had orders to dispatch their prisoner in case the enemy should over-

take them. They travelled in this manner from Cutteek, two or three stages. Hajee Ameen, happening to be seized with a shortness of breath, changed seats with Ahmed Khan, to get a little air; all the way he kept his dagger drawn, ready to dispatch his prisoner. At this juncture, Birless Khan, with fifteen horsemen, happened to enter the jungle, and their flag appearing above the bushes, the spearmen concluded that Alyvardy Khan was arrived; and not having been apprized that Hajee Ameen had changed seats with his prisoner, they drove their spears at him, mistaking him for Said Ahmed Khan; and thinking they had killed him, took to flight. Hajee Ameen lay weltering in his own blood, and cried out that he was murdered. Meer Mohammed Jaffer had just routed the enemy, and his people were calling out for Said Ahmed Khan, imagining that he might be amongst the fugitives; but he, apprehending them to be the enemy, who were enquiring after him to destroy him, durst not speak; till distinguishing the voice of Meer Jaffer, he lifted up the curtains of the rath, and discovered his friend.

Meer Jaffer alighted from his horse, and they embraced with mutual affection. Whilst they were congratulating each other on their happy meeting, and asking a number of questions, Hajee Ameen took the opportunity of slipping out of the carriage. When they had finished their conversation, Meer Jaffer missed his horse; and, not being able to find Hajee Ameen, they concluded he must have made his escape upon it.

The Afghans came up with Bauker Khan, and brought him action, but he, being aided by Morad Khan, the bukshee of the rajah of Pursotim, penetrated into

the jungle; and proceeded to the Dekhan, by the road of Champahghatty: the Afghans, unwilling to lose their bread, by putting an end to the war, gave up the pursuit.

When Alyvardy Khan returned to Cutteck, he punished the rebels who had joined Mirza Bauker. He appointed to the office of naib soobahdar, Sheikh Mausoom, a considerable jemidar; and then prepared to return to Bengal.

When Alyvardy Khan arrived at Balasore, he resolved to punish the Moorbunje rajah, for having joined Mirza Bauker. The rajah resided at Hirhirpoor, and was then celebrating his nuptials, not thinking it possible that Alyvardy Khan would attempt to molest him, surrounded by jungles and mountains. Alyvardy Khan advanced, with fire and sword, putting great numbers to death, making prisoners of women and children, burning the towns and villages, and carrying off the cattle. The rajah, and his family, took refuge in the mountains.

But whilst Alyvardy Khan was gratifying his revenge in desolating the territory of Moorbunje, his spies brought him intelligence that sixty thousand Mahrattahs, belonging to Ragoojee Bhoselah, the nephew of rajah Sahew, were marching from Nagpoor, under the command of Bhaskir Pundit, to invade Bengal.

He turned back immediately; but before he got out of the wilds of Moorbunje, the Mahrattahs had entered the Burdwan province. He proceeded, by forced marches, till he arrived at Achalun Serai, within three coss of Burdwan. Here the Mahrattahs, who were as numerous as locusts, surrounded him in all sides: the Bengal troops, unacquainted with their manner of

skirmishing, were under continual apprehension; and lost all their camp equipage and baggage.

They were at one time thrown into such disorder, that the Mahrattahs had seized the elephant, upon which the Begum,* Alyvardy Khan's wife, was mounted, and were conveying her to their camp; when Mehsaheb Khan made a desperate attack; and, after great slaughter on both sides, recovered her from the enemy; he, however, was killed in the action, and buried in the field of battle. At length, they fought their way to Burdwan, amidst incredible hardships and fatigues; the man having hardly slept for three days; and encountered such distress, from the want of provisions, that the men were compelled to feed upon the roots of plantain trees, and the cattle upon the leaves of trees; and even of this hard fare there was a scarcity. The Mahrattahs set fire to all the neighbouring villages; and the troops, being afraid to go out to forage, were again near perishing by famine. In this situation, Alyvardy Khan resolved upon fighting his way to Kutuah; where he expected to find plenty of grain. He placed his artillery on his flanks, and marched in this manner during the night. But the Mahrattahs, being mounted on mares that could travel forty cose in a day, got the start of him; and, before his arrival at Kutuah, plundered, burnt, and destroyed, everything they could find. The troops eagerly devoured the rice which they recovered from the flames; and by the exertions of the Hajee, they were soon supplied, by boats from Moorshedabad, with bread, and other necessities for themselves; with sufficient fodder for the cattle.

Alyvardy Khan was all his time meditating revenge, and making preparations to strike a decisive blow. Whilst the Mahrattahs were dispersed all over the country, collecting the revenues, free from all apprehension of being attacked; he suddenly marched from Moorshedabad, and crossed the river, opposite to Kutuah, over a bridge of boats, which had been constructed during the night. The Mahrattahs being entirely off their guard, were slaughtered like sheep; and Bhaskir Pundit, with all the troops he could collect, retreated to Ramgurh; and from thence passed through the jungles to Orissa. Sheikh Moassoom, the naib soobahdar of Orissa, having only a small force, and being deserted by the Zemindars, fell a victim, to the Mahrattahs, who became entire masters of that province.

When Alyvardy Khan arrived at Burdwan, he paid the arrears due to his troops, besides a gratuity of two months pay; and promoted such of the officers as had distinguished themselves in the action at Kutuah. He then proceeded to Cutteck; and, after several skirmishes, drove the Mahrattahs out of Orissa. He appointed for his naib in Orissa, Abdurussool Khan, the nephew of Mustafa Khan; and leaving him in Cutteck, with five or six thousand cavalry and infantry, returned to Bengal.

Upon the defeat of Bhaskir Pundit at Kutuah, Seesrow evacuated Hooghly, and retreated to Bisherpoor. The other Mahrattahs, who were dispersed over the country, also fled.

But new troubles soon arose; for Bhaskir, despairing of re-conquering Orissa, led the Mahrattahs through Bhauglepoor and Rajemahl towards Bahar, and when Alyvardy Khan went in pursuit of them, turned about.

and got before him to Moorshedabad. He pursued them with such haste, that he arrived whilst they were plundering the quarter of Baloochee ; when, upon hearing the sound of his drums, they abandoned their prey, and fled to Raingurh ; whither also Alyvardy Khan followed them. For three years the Mahrattahs annually invaded Bengal ; but no decisive battle was fought during the whole of that time.

Alyvardy Khan, having formed an intimacy with Aly Bhiey, a Mahrattah chief, who was a Mussulman, invited him to Moorshedabad ; and persuaded him, that being weary of hostilities, he was ready to purchase a peace, by consenting to pay the chowth.* Aly Bhiey, having mediated a treaty upon these terms, with the Mahrattah chiefs at Dungengur, Alyvardy Khan, at their requisition, sent rajah Jangeeram, and Mystafa Khan, to ratify the treaty on his part, by the most solemn oaths, according to their respective faiths.

At the meeting it was agreed, that the Mahrattah chiefs and Alyvardy Khan, should have an interview ; after which, the ambassadors took their leave, and returned to Moorshedabad. Alyvardy Khan expressing great satisfaction at the peace, caused it to be proclaimed everywhere, and gave orders for Khelauts, jewels, elephants, and other presents, to be prepared, against the arrival of the Mahrattah chiefs.

The place appointed for the interview, was the plain of Munkereh ; where there was pitched for their reception, a magnificent tent, of an immense size, in the lining of which a considerable number of armed men

Ragoojee for an army of Mahrattahs, who gladly embraced the opportunity of invading the provinces.

Alyvardy Khan marched to Azeemabad, where he gained a victory over Mústáfa Khan, who retreated to Ghazipoor: Alyvardy Khan then returned to Moorsheda bad. After his departure Mustafa Khan again appeared before Patna; where, being killed in battle, Zeineddeer ordered his body to be split in two, and exposed upon an elephant throughout the city.

At this juncture Ragoojee sent into Orissa an army of Mahrattahs, commanded by his adopted son, rajah Janoujee, with Meer Hubceeb, to collect the chowth: in this army were many of the dependants of the late Mustafa Khan. When Janoujee had conquered Orissa, Meer Hubceeb sent an offer of peace to Alyvardy Khan, upon conditions of his paying the chowth. Newazish Ahmed Khan, Hassan Aly Khan, Juggut Seat, and the Royroyan, were inclined to purchase a peace; but Alyvardy Khan, rejected the proposal with indignation.

Shumsheer Khan, and some other Patans,* of Derbungah, who had been connected with Mustafa Khan, and held a correspondence with the Mahrattahs, demanded their pay, in a mutinous manner, during the war; when Alyvardy Khan, being suspicious of them, paid them their arrears, and dismissed them. When they returned to Derbungah, they offered their service to Zeineddeen; and, as they were known to be good troops, he readily engaged them.

* The Patans, or Afghans, are Mahommedan tribes, who inhabit the northern parts of Hindostan. The translator is in possession of a Persian manuscript, wherein they are conjectured to be the descendants of the lost Jewish tribes.

Shumsheer Khan, and his officers accordingly crossed the Ganges, with three hundred cavalry, under pretence of paying their compliments to Zeineddeen Khan, upon being taken into his employ. They waited upon him at his palace of Chehelstoon, in Patna; and after paying their respects; seated themselves on each side of him. Shortly after, whilst he was engaged in similar conversation, one of the Patans, named Morad Sheer Khan, seeing him off his guard, ripped up his bowels with a *omdher*,* and he expired on the spot. The three hundred Patans who were waiting without, rushed in, and murdered all the servants of Zeineddeen, who were present. They treated the Hajee with the vilest indignities, put him to death with tortures, possessed themselves of lacks of treasure, violated the women of his family, and made them prisoners: after which they sacked the city, paying no respect to age, sex, or character. Shumsheer Khan collected together about a thousand cavalry, and marched into Bengal.

Alyvirdy Khan was encamped at AmaneeGUNGE, engaged against the Mahrattahs, when he received intelligence of the massacre at Patna. Being greatly afflicted at the murder of his brother and nephew, he determined to take instant revenge upon Shumsheer Khan, and the other assassins. But his troops mutinied on account of pay, and could not be persuaded to march, till Nowazish Ahmed Khan had supplied, from his own funds, sufficient money to discharge their arrears; which is reported to have been eighty lacks of rupees.

Alyvirdy Khan left Nowazish Ahmed Khan at

A large dagger, with a double edge.